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A JOURNAL
OF
THE SWEDISH EMBASSY

IN THE YEARS 1653 AND 1654.

IMPARTIALLY WRITTEN BY THE
AMBASSADOR BULSTRODE WHITELOCKE.

FIRST PUBLISHED
FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

BY
DR. CHARLES MORTON, M.D., F.S.A.,
LIBRARIAN OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

A NEW EDITION,
REVISED BY
HENRY REEVE, Esq., F.S.A.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOLUME II.

"A wicked messenger falleth into mischief, but a faithful ambassador is health."
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MARCH 1, 1653.

Now was the heat of Whitelocke's business, and many cross endeavours used to render all his labours fruitless, and to bring his treaty to no effect. But it pleased God, in whom his confidence was placed, to carry him through all his difficulties, and to give his blessing and success to this negotiation. Whitelocke continues the negotiation.

Whitelocke gave a visit to the Count de Monteculi, to give him the welcome home from his journey with the Queen ; who said he had commands to kiss the hand of the Prince of Sweden, and took the opportunity of accompanying her Majesty when she went to meet the Prince. He communicated nothing of the business to Whitelocke, nor did he think to inquire it of him.

After Whitelocke returned home, the Resident of France and Woolfeldt met at his house to visit him, and staid with him three hours. They had much dis-

course of France, and of the Duke of Lorraine, and of the policy of the Spaniard in entertaining that Duke in his service; by means whereof the country where the Duke's soldiers were quartered was better satisfied than with the Spanish forces, so that there was no tax levied for them, only they took free quarter, and sometimes a contribution upon the receiving of a new officer. And Woolfeldt said, that whereas all other Princes give wages to their officers and soldiers, the Duke gives no pay; but when he makes an officer, the officer pays money to the Duke for his commission; and that he knew a captain of horse who gave a thousand crowns for his commission, which the captain afterwards raised upon the country, and the Duke connived at it. He told how he was employed to treat with the Duke for the transportation of five thousand foot and three thousand horse into Ireland, to assist our King; which the Duke undertook on condition to have a hundred thousand crowns in ready money, and ships to transport his men from some haven in France, none of which could be effected.

Advances
from
France.

After Woolfeldt went away, the French Resident asked Whitelocke whether France were comprised in the treaty with Holland. Whitelocke said he had no information thereof. The Resident replied, that his master would willingly entertain a good friendship and correspondence with England; and Whitelocke said, he believed England would be ready to do the like with France. The Resident said, he observed by their discourse that Whitelocke had been in France, and that the late King would have given him the command of a troop of horse in France; and he hoped that Whitelocke would retain a good opinion of that

country, and be their friend. Whitelocke replied, that he was very civilly treated in France, and believed that he should have served the late King there, if, by a sudden accident or misfortune, he had not been prevented, and obliged to return for England sooner than he intended; and that he should be always ready (as he held himself engaged) to pay all respects and service to that Crown, as far as might consist with the interest of the Commonwealth whom he served.

March 2, 1653.

Notwithstanding his great words against the Commonwealth and present treaty, yet Monsieur Schütt was pleased to afford a visit to Whitelocke, and they fell (amongst many other things) upon the following discourse:—

Senator Schütt explains the delay in the negotiation.

Schütt. My father was formerly ambassador from this Crown in England, where I was with him, which occasioned my desire to be known to you.

Whitelocke. Your father did honour to this country and to ours in that employment, and your Excellence honours me in this visit.

Sch. England is the noblest country and people that ever I saw: a more pleasant, fruitful, and healthful country, and a more gallant, stout, and rich people, are not in the world.

Wh. I perceive you have taken a true measure, both of the country and her inhabitants.

Sch. This is my judgement of it, as well as my affection to it.

Wh. Your country here is indeed more northerly,

but your people, especially the nobility, of a much-like honourable condition to ours ; which may cause the more wonder at her Majesty's intention of leaving them, who are so affectionate to her.

Sch. Truly her Majesty's purpose of resignation is strange to foreigners, and much more to us, who are her subjects, most affectionate to her.

Wh. It is reported that she hath consulted in this business with the Senators, whereof you are one.

Sch. Three Senators are deputed to confer with the Prince of Sweden, upon certain particulars to be observed in the resignation ; and I hope that your Excellencè will consider the importance of that affair, and will therefore attend with the more patience the issue thereof, being necessary that the advice of the Prince be had in it.

Wh. Have the three deputed Senators any order to confer with the Prince about my business ?

Sch. I believe they have.

Wh. I had been here two months before the Queen mentioned this design of hers to the Council, and have staid here all this time with patience, and shall so continue as my Lord Protector shall command me ; and as soon as he requires my return I shall obey him.

Sch. The occasion of the delay hitherto was the uncertainty of the issue of your Dutch treaty ; and at this season of the year it was impossible for you to return, till the passage be open.

Wh. I believe the alliance with England meriteth an acceptance, whether we have peace or war with Holland ; and for my return, it is at the pleasure of the Protector.

They had much other discourse ; and probably Schütt was sent purposely to excuse the delay of the treaty, for which he used many arguments not necessary to be repeated ; and he came also to test Whitelocke touching advice to be had with the Prince about this treaty, whereunto Whitelocke showed no averseness.

Whitelocke received his packet of two weeks from England. In a letter from his wife he was advertised that the Protector had spoken of his voyage to Sweden as if Whitelocke had not merited much by it, though he so earnestly persuaded it ; and his wife wrote that she believed one of Whitelocke's family was false to him ; and upon inquiry she suspected it to be ———, who gave intelligence to the Protector of all Whitelocke's words and actions in Sweden, to his prejudice, and very unbecoming one of his family. This Whitelocke, comparing with some passages told him by his secretary of the same person, found there was cause enough to suspect him ; yet to have one such among a hundred he thought no strange thing, nor for the Protector to alter his phrase when his turn was served. And though this gave ground enough of discontent to Whitelocke, yet he thought not fit to discover it, nor what other friends had written to him, doubting whether he should be honourably dealt with at his return home ; but he was more troubled to hear of his wife's sickness, for whose health and his family's he made his supplication to the great Physician ; and that he might be as well pleased with a private retirement, if God saw it good for him, at his return home, as the Queen seemed to be with her design of abdication from the heights and glories of a crown.

Treacherous reports
to England.

Part of the letters to Whitelocke were in cipher, being directions to him touching the Sound. He had full intelligence of all passages of the Dutch treaty, and a copy of the articles, from Thurloe; also the news of Scotland, Ireland, France, and the letters from the Dutch Resident here to his superiors in Holland, copies whereof Thurloe by money had procured. He wrote also of the Protector's being feasted by the City, and a full and large relation of all passages of moment. The Protector himself wrote also his letters to Whitelocke under his own hand, which were thus :—

Letter from
the Protec-
tor.

"For the Lord Ambassador Whitelocke.

"My Lord,

"I have a good while since received your letters sent by the ship that transported you to Gothenburg, and three other despatches since. By that of the 30th of December, and that of the 4th instant, I have received a particular account of what passed at your first audience, and what other proceedings have been upon your negotiation; which, so far as they have been communicated to me, I do well approve of, as having been managed by you with care and prudence.

"You will understand by Mr. Secretary Thurloe in what condition the treaty with the United Provinces is, in case it shall please God that a peace be made with them, which a little time will show; yet I see no reason to be diverted thereby from the former intentions of entering into an alliance with Sweden, nor that there will be anything in the league intended with the Low Countries repugnant thereunto, especially in things wherein you are already instructed fully. And for the matter of your third and fourth private instructions, if the Queen hath any mind thereto, upon your transmitting particulars hither such consideration will be had thereof as the then constitution

of affairs will lead unto. In the meantime you may assure the Queen of the constancy and reality of my intentions to settle a firm alliance with her. I commend you to the goodness of God.

"Your loving friend,

"OLIVER P.

"*Whitehall, 3rd February, 1653.*"

March 3, 1653.

Grave John Oxenstiern, eldest son of the Chancellor, came to visit Whitelocke; a Ricks-Senator, and had been Ricks-Schatz-master, or High Treasurer, a place next in honour to that of his father. He had been formerly ambassador from this Crown to England; but because he was sent by the Chancellor his father, and the other Directors of the affairs of Sweden in the Queen's minority, which King Charles and his Council took not to be from a sovereign prince; and because his business touching the Prince Elect's settlement, and the affairs of Germany relating to Sweden, did not please our King; therefore this gentleman was not treated here with that respect and solemnity as he challenged to be due to him as an ambassador; which bred a distaste in him and his father against the King and Council here, as neglecting the father and the good offices which he tendered to King Charles and this nation, by slighting the son and his quality.

The son of
Oxenstiern
formerly
sent to
England.

The discourse between this Grave and Whitelocke was not long, though upon several matters; and he seemed to be sent to excuse the delay of the treaty with Whitelocke, for which he mentioned former

reasons, as his father's want of health, multiplicity of business, the expected issue of the Dutch treaty, and the like ; and the same excuses were again repeated by Lagerfeldt, who came to Whitelocke from the Chancellor for the same purpose.

Whitelocke had occasion to look into his new credentials and instructions from the Protector, which were thus.

White-
locke's new
credentials
and instruc-
tions.

" Oliver, Lord Protector, etc., to the Most Serene and Potent Prince Christina, etc., health and prosperity.

" Most Serene and Potent Queen,

" God, who is the great Disposer of all things, having been pleased in His unsearchable wisdom to make a change in the Government of these nations since the time that the noble B. Whitelocke, Constable, etc. went from hence, qualified and commissioned as Ambassador Extraordinary from the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England unto your Majesty, to communicate with you in things tending to the mutual good and utility of both the nations, we have thought it necessary upon this occasion to assure your Majesty that the present change of affairs here hath made no alteration of the good intentions on this side towards your Majesty and your dominions ; but that as we hold ourself obliged, in the exercise of that power which God and the people have entrusted us with, to endeavour by all just and honourable means to hold a good correspondence with our neighbours, so more particularly with the Crown of Sweden, between whom and these nations there hath always been a firm amity and strict alliance ; and therefore we have given instructions to the said Lord Whitelocke, answerable to such good desires, earnestly requesting your Majesty to give unto him favourable audience as often as he shall desire it, and full belief in what he shall propound on the behalf of these dominions. And so we heartily commend your Majesty and your affairs to the Divine pro-

tection. Given at Whitehall this 23rd of December, Old Style, 1653.

“ Your good friend,

“ OLIVER P.”

The following instructions were under the hand and private seal of the Protector :—

“An Instruction for B. Whitelocke, Constable, etc., Ambassador Extraordinary from the Commonwealth of England to the Queen of Sweden.

“ Whereas you were lately sent in the quality of Ambassador Extraordinary from the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England unto her Majesty the Queen of Sweden, for the renewing and contracting an alliance and confederation with that Queen and Crown, according to the commission and instructions you received from the said Parliament and the then Council of State ; And whereas, since your departure hence, the then Parliament hath been dissolved, and the Government is settled and established in such a way that you will understand by letters from Mr. Thurloe, Secretary of the Council, who is directed to give unto you a full account hereof : Now lest the work you are upon (which is so necessary in itself to both the nations, and so sincerely desired on our part) should be interrupted or retarded by reason of the said change of affairs, and the question that may arise thereupon concerning the validity of your commission and instructions, I have thought fit, by advice of the Council, to write unto her Majesty new letters credential, a copy whereof you will receive herewith, which letters you are to present to the Queen. And you are also, by virtue of these presents, to let her Majesty know that the alteration of the Government here hath made no change in the good intentions on this side towards her Majesty and her dominions ; but that she shall find the same readiness in me to maintain and increase all good intelligence and correspondence with that Queen and Crown

as in any the former governors of these nations. And to that end you are hereby authorized to proceed in your present negotiation, and to endeavour to bring the treaty with her Majesty to a good conclusion according to the tenour and effect of the commission, powers, and instructions you have already received, and which I shall by any further act ratify and confirm according as the nature of the business shall require.

"Before your Lordship deliver these letters credential to the Queen, or make any addresses to her, you are to inform yourself fully of the reception you are like to have, and whether her intentions be to come to a treaty of amity with this State as the Government is now established, that no dishonour may befall us or these dominions in your addresses upon these letters and instructions. Given at Whitehall this 23rd of December, 1653.

"OLIVER P."

Whitelocke made many despatches this day to England.

March 4, 1653.

The Queen
talks of
visiting the
Protector.

Whitelocke waited on the Queen and showed her part of the letters which he received from England, whereupon she again asked him if the Protector were *sacré*? Whitelocke said, No, and that his letters mentioned only a solemnity of entertaining the Protector by the City of London. Whitelocke also communicated to her Majesty the Protector's letter to him, and the expression that Whitelocke should assure her Majesty of the Protector's constant and real intentions to settle a firm alliance with the Queen; which, she said, she was also most ready to make with the Protector.

Whitelocke then said it might be fit to make some progress in his treaty upon his articles, and particu-

larly in those which concerned amity and commerce, and had no dependence on the issue of the treaty with Holland, and therefore might be had in consideration before the other were fully concluded, and the rest of the articles might be considered afterwards ; which the Queen said should be done, and that she would send an ambassador to the Protector. She was very inquisitive concerning London and our Universities ; by her discourse gave him to imagine she had thoughts of travelling into France, Spain, Italy, and into England ; and asked Whitelocke if he thought the Protector would give way to her coming thither. Whitelocke answered, that the Protector would bid her Majesty very welcome thither.

He was alone with her near two hours, and at his taking leave she desired him to come to her again on Monday next, and that then she would read over with him his articles, both in Latin and English, which they would consider together ; and such things as she could consent unto she would tell him, and what she could not consent unto he should then know from her, and they might mark it in the margin as they went along. Yet she said she would have him to proceed in his conference with her Chancellor as before, and that nobody should know of that conference between her and Whitelocke ; but she would so order the business that what they consented unto should be effected afterwards, and that in two hours they might go over all the articles. Whitelocke told her Majesty he presumed that she would admit of a free debate upon any of them. She said, by all means, that was reasonable ; and in case the peace between England and Holland did not take effect, that then the ambassador, whom

she intended howsoever to send into England, might conclude upon such other articles as should be thought fit. Whitelocke asked her if she had any thoughts of being included in the Dutch treaty. She said, No, for she had not meddled with the war, and therefore desired not to be included in the peace with them.

Reports of
the Dutch
Resident
adverse to
Whitelocke.

From the Queen Whitelocke went and visited Piementelle, who showed him a letter he received from a great person in Flanders, mentioning that Beningen had written to his superiors that the English Ambassador and the Spanish Resident were often together, and had showed great respect to each other, which his Highness the Archduke liked very well, and gave Piementelle thanks for it; and though Monsieur Beningen did not like of their being so friendly, yet his superiors endeavoured all they could to have amity with England. When Whitelocke told him of the English fleet at sea, he said it was great pity the same was not employed. He then showed Whitelocke a letter from Beningen to his superiors, wherein he taxed Whitelocke with omitting the ceremony of meeting Prince Adolphus at his door. Whitelocke repeated to Piementelle the carriage of that business as before; and Piementelle said, that neither the Queen nor himself had ever heard the Prince express any dislike of Whitelocke's carriage; and that the Queen, seeing Beningen's letter, said there were many things in it concerning Whitelocke which upon her knowledge were not true. It was also said in the letter that the English Ambassador had many long audiences with her Majesty, and conferences with the Chancellor, but that he could not in the least learn what passed between them; with which Whitelocke had no cause to be displeased.

March 5, 1653.

The Lord's Day.—Whitelocke had two good sermons in his house, at which divers English and Scots, besides those of his family, were present. In the evening the Queen passed through the streets in her coach, with divers other coaches and her servants waiting on her, to take the air, though upon this day; and in the night, many disorderly drunkards were committing debaucheries and insolences in the town, and at Whitelocke's door.

March 6, 1653.

Whitelocke visited Senator Schütt, who spake in excuse of the delay of his business. Whitelocke said—Further excuses for delay.

Whitelocke. I have already staid long in this place, and nothing is yet done in my business.

Schütt. Your stay here hath been of more advantage to England than if they had sent 10,000 men into Holland, who, by your stay here, will be brought on with the greater desire of making peace with you.

Wh. They know nothing of my negotiation.

Sch. That makes them the more jealous; the slowness of one person is the cause that hitherto you have received no satisfaction, and I doubt not but ere long you will have answers to your contentment.

Whilst Whitelocke was with him the Queen sent one of her gentlemen thither to him, to desire him to put off his visit of her Majesty till the next day, by reason she had then extraordinary business; and the messenger being gone, Schütt said,—

Schütt. The Queen is busy in despatching three senators to the Prince, Grave Eric Oxenstiern, Monsieur

Fleming, and Monsieur Vanderlin, who are deputed for the business of the Queen's resignation ; and I, in a few days, shall be sent to the Prince.

Whitelocke. I pray do me the favour to present my service to his Royal Highness, whom I am very desirous to salute as soon as I can gain an opportunity; and do hope that his resort to this place will be before I shall be necessitated to return, that I may give myself the honour to kiss his hand.

Whitelocke
visits the
Chief Jus-
tice of Swe-
den.

Whitelocke visited the Ricks-Droitset Grave Brahe, who is of the noble family of Tycho Brahe. He was President of the College of Justice, and the First Minister of State of the kingdom: the name of his office is as much as Viceroy, and his jurisdiction is a sovereign court for the administration of justice, and he hath power both civil and military. The office is in effect the same with that ancient officer with us called the Chief Justice of England. The habit of this Chief Justice of Sweden was a coat, and a furred cap of black, a sword and belt, and no cloak; two soldiers sentry at his chamber-door, which Whitelocke had not observed elsewhere but at the Court. They had much discourse of Whitelocke's business, wherein he testified affections to the Commonwealth of England, though Whitelocke had been informed that he was not their friend; but he the rather chose to visit him first, and found him very civil: he spake Latin very readily, and no French, although Whitelocke was told he could speak it well.

He inquired much of the Commonwealth and affairs of England, and government of it, and seemed well pleased by Whitelocke's relation of it. He informed Whitelocke of the Swedish Government, and

particularly of his own office. He discoursed much of the Prince of Sweden, which Whitelocke judged the fitter for him to approve, because Prince Adolphus's lady was this Grave's daughter. He told Whitelocke that he had been Governor of Finland ten years together, which province he affirmed to be greater than France, and that the Queen's dominions were larger than France, Spain, Italy, all together. Whitelocke asked him if those countries were well peopled, and flourished with corn and good towns. He answered that Finland was well peopled, and had store of corn, and good towns; but that it was not so with Lapland and other countries further off. But he said that no part of Sweden had such towns as were in England, where he had been when he was a young man, which country he much praised; and Whitelocke had no cause to gainsay it.

Piementelle sent to Whitelocke an atlas, in four great volumes, in acknowledgment of a vessel of Spanish wine which Whitelocke had before sent to him for a present.

March 7, 1653.

The Governor of Upsal, Monsieur Bannier, presented to Whitelocke three Latin books:—1. The Story of Sweden; 2. Of the Laws of Sweden; 3. Of Sea Affairs; which were not ordinarily to be had.

The Queen sent one of her servants to invite Whitelocke to take the air with her in the fields; and being come to the castle, she excused her not being yet ready to confer with him upon his articles, as she had promised, but told him that she had ordered something to be written down on that subject to show to him.

Whitelocke
takes the air
with the
Queen.

She took him into her coach, where was the "Belle Comtesse," the Countess Gabriel Oxenstiern, Prince Adolphus, Piementelle, Montecuculi, Tott, and Whitelocke. The Queen was very merry, and they were full of cheerful discourse. Being returned to the castle at night, she desired to hear Whitelocke's music, whom he sent for to the castle; and they played and sang in her presence, wherewith she seemed much pleased, and desired Whitelocke to thank them in her name. She said she never heard so good a concert of music, and of English songs; and desired Whitelocke, at his return to England, to procure her some to play on those instruments which would be most agreeable to her.

The Chancellor falls ill.

Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke in the Court, and told him that the Chancellor intended to have had a meeting with him this day, but was hindered by falling sick of an ague; but in case his health would not permit him to meet, that then his son Eric Oxenstiern, by the Queen's appointment, would meet and confer with Whitelocke about the treaty in place of his father. But Whitelocke was not glad of this deputation, wishing much rather to confer with the old man upon this subject, who was good-natured, civil, and affectionate to Whitelocke, than with the son, Grave Eric, who was of a more rugged and self-conceited humour, and not so soon gained by reason and convinced by arguments as the good old man his father used to be.

March 8, 1653.

The Chancellor's son resumes the negotiation.

Grave Eric Oxenstiern visited Whitelocke, and spake much to excuse the delay of his treaty; and said

that his father was very sick of an ague, and he believed the Queen would depute some other to confer with him, in case his father's health would not permit him that liberty.

Whitelocke. I am very sorry for the indisposition of our father, and for the delay of my business. I have been here about three months, and nothing is yet concluded.

Gr. Eric. The uncertainty of your Dutch affair, and the Queen's desire to know the issue of it, hath occasioned this delay.

Wh. As the points of amity and commerce, they concern not our Dutch treaty.

Gr. Eric. You will be sure to receive all satisfaction and contentment on that subject; but there are many particulars of the commerce to be considered.

Wh. I cannot say much upon those particulars; but I was sent hither by my Lord Protector to testify his respect to the Queen and kingdom of Sweden, and to offer to them the amity of England, which I suppose that wise and experienced persons as you are will accept of; and for commerce my proposals are general.

Gr. Eric. I confess the particulars thereof may more conveniently be treated on by merchants; and we do not so much desire a confederation with any nation as with England.

It was supposed by Whitelocke, that by the deferring of his business here, the Hollanders would be in the more suspense and doubt of the issue of it, and might thereby come on the more freely in their treaty with England; whereas, if the issue of his business here were known, it might perhaps seem less to them than it was now suspected to be. Upon this ground,

though he spake of the delay, yet he did not so much press for a positive answer, but that he imagined the Dutch treaty might be brought to an issue; he intended to put on his business here, and the default hitherto rested on their part, as was acknowledged by their own excuses.

Discourse
with the
Chief
Justice.

Whilst Eric was with Whitelocke, the Chief Justice came in. And after Grave Eric was gone the Chief Justice discoursed much concerning the Protector and his family, his extraction and pedigree, his former quality and condition, and his present state and manner of living: to which Whitelocke answered truly, and with honour to the Protector; and as to his present post, attendants, and ceremonies of his Court, he could not give so punctual an account, it being altered since his coming from England. He also inquired particularly concerning the Parliament, the forms of their summons, sitting, debating, voting, power, and authority; in all which Whitelocke was the better able to satisfy him, having been a Member of Parliament for almost thirty years together: and then the Chief Justice inquired further:—

Chief Justice. What opinions of Calvin are most in estimation in England? and what is the state of your religion there?

Whitelocke. Neither Calvin's opinion nor Luther's are esteemed in England further than they are agreeable to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, which are the rules and contain the state of religion professed in England. But by what state of religion is the profanation of the Lord's Day, and of images and crucifixes in churches, permitted?

Ch. Just. No recreations or works are permitted

on Sundays till after divine service ended, and then Calvin permits them; and Luther is of opinion for the historical use of images and crucifixes, but not to pray to them.

Wh. Herein both the opinion of Calvin and that of Luther are expressly contrary to the Holy Scripture, and therefore not esteemed in these points in England.

The Chief Justice eagerly asserted these opinions not to be contrary to the Scripture, but alleged no proof, either from thence or out of human authors, to make good his assertion. After much argumentation hereupon, the Chief Justice offered to Whitelocke that he would move the Queen for a speedy despatch of his business; and said, he did not doubt but that satisfaction would be given him therein.

Whitelocke was the more desirous to get a conclusion of his business while Piementelle was here, because of his great favour with the Queen; which, with her respects to Montecuculi, both great Papists, caused Whitelocke to have the more doubt of her inclinations.

Prince Adolphus made a great entertainment for Montecuculi, Piementelle, and most of the grandees in town; but Whitelocke was omitted, his humour and principles as to their jollities and drinking of healths not being agreeable to theirs; and he held this neglect no affliction to him.

March 9, 1653.

Whitelocke visited the Ricks-Admiral Oxenstiern, the Chancellor's brother, who received him with great

civility; and they discoursed very much of Whitelocke's business to the effect as others did.

Whitelocke
visits the
Chancel-
lor's eldest
son.

He also visited Grave John Oxenstiern, the Chancellor's eldest son, whose carriage was elated. Two of his pages were sons of Earls, and had the title of Earls; his servants were some of them set at his outer door to receive Whitelocke; himself vouchsafed to meet him at the inner door, and, with supercilious reservedness of state, descended to say to Whitelocke that he was welcome. They discoursed of England, where this Grave had been, as is before remembered, and the distaste he there received, which possibly might cause his greater neglect of Whitelocke, who took little notice of it. He took upon him to be fully instructed in the affairs of England, and of the laws and government there; wherein Whitelocke presumed to rectify some of his mistakes.

When he offered to move the Queen for despatch of Whitelocke's business, he answered, that he had done it himself already, and there would be no need to trouble any other. This occasioned some discourse about the treaty, to which, with great gravity, this General declared his judgement concerning contraband goods, that great care was to be taken therein, not to give any interruption to trade. Whitelocke said, that concerned England much more than Sweden. Then he took care that the English rebels and traitors might have favour in his country; but Whitelocke, knowing that he was neither employed nor versed in the business of his treaty, spent the fewer words in answer to his immaterial objections.

Whitelocke
confers with
the Queen
on the arti-
cles.

In the afternoon Whitelocke attended the Queen, who excused her not having conferred with him about

his treaty. Whitelocke told her, that, if it were now seasonable, he had them ready, and they might read them over together; whereunto she consented, and he read them to her.

She took out a paper of notes, written with her own hand in Latin, her observations upon the articles.

1. After Whitelocke had read the first article, she said there was nothing therein which needed explanation.

2. The second, she said, would require consideration, and read out of her notes the words "communis interesse," which she desired Whitelocke to explain what was meant by them. He told her those words included matter of safety and matter of traffic. She then demanded why the Baltic Sea was named as to free navigation, and not other seas likewise. Whitelocke said the reason was, because at present navigation was not free in the Baltic Sea; but if she pleased to have other seas also named, he would consent to it. She asked if he would consent to freedom of navigation in America. Whitelocke told her he could not, and that the treaties of the Commonwealth were comprehended within the bounds of Europe. She asked him what he thought the Protector would do in case she demanded that liberty. He said, his Highness would give such an answer as should consist with the interest of England, and show a due regard to her Majesty.

3. This third article she said she would agree unto, but she thought it necessary that a form should be agreed upon for certificates and letters of safe-conduct, that ships might pass free upon showing of them. Whitelocke said, he thought there would be no need of them, especially if the peace with the Dutch were

concluded. She replied, that if the war continued it would be necessary.

4. She said she thought there would be no need of this article, and read another which she herself had drawn in Latin to this effect—"That if any hereafter should commit treason, or be rebels in one country, they should not be harboured in the other." Whitelocke said, the article was already to that purpose, and he thought it necessary for the good of both nations. She said, it would be too sharp against divers officers who had served her father and herself, and were now settled in Sweden. Whitelocke offered that amendment which he before tendered to the Chancellor, which when she read, she told Whitelocke, that might include all those men whom she mentioned before. Whitelocke said, that, upon inquiry into it, he found not one excepted by name from pardon. She said, for anything to be done hereafter, it was reasonable, and she would consent to it. Whitelocke said, that if any hereafter should come into her country, who were excepted from pardon, it was also reasonable to include them in this article.

5. She said that this and the second article would require further consideration; because if she should consent thereunto, it would declare her breach of the neutrality which she had hitherto kept. Whitelocke told her, if the peace were concluded with the Dutch, that neutrality would be gone; and if the war continued, he presumed she would not stick to declare otherwise than that neutrality. She said that was true, but she desired that this and the second article might be let alone until the issue of the Dutch treaty.

6. The sixth article, she said, was reasonable.

7. She took exception to the words "*bona à suis*

cujusque inimicis direpta," which, she said, was a breach of her neutrality. To that Whitelocke answered as before upon the fifth article; and she desired it might be passed over as the second and fifth articles, till the issue of the Dutch treaty were known. She said she would desire the liberty of fishing for herrings. Whitelocke told her that upon equal conditions he presumed his Highness would consent to that which should be fit. She asked what conditions he would demand. Whitelocke said, those matters of commerce would be better agreed upon with the advice of merchants.

8. The eighth article she said was equal.

9. There was no difference upon it.

10. She judged fit to be agreed upon.

11. She made some short observations, which by explanation Whitelocke cleared, and she agreed.

12. The like as upon the eleventh article.

13. To this article she read in Latin an objection to the proviso, and said it was reasonable that, if they did break bulk, they should pay custom for so much only as they sold. Whitelocke told her that objection showed that there were great men merchants in Sweden, and that the objection was more in favour of the merchants than of herself. She said the merchants were crafty indeed; and she did not much insist upon it.

14. The last article which Whitelocke had given in. To this she said it was fit that the men-of-war that should come into the other ports should be to a number ascertained, to avoid suspicion. Whitelocke said he would agree thereunto, with a caution, as in the first article, to be added: if they should be driven by tempest, force, or necessity, then to be dispensed with.

Whitelocke desired her Majesty to give him a copy of her objections. She told him, they were only a few things which she had written with her own hand, upon her apprehension of the articles, and that he should have them in writing; but she desired him not to acquaint any person here with this conference.

March 10, 1653.

White-
locke's de-
spatches to
England.

Upon yesterday's conference with the Queen, Whitelocke wrote the passages thereof at large to Thurloe, to be communicated to the Council in England, and to pray their direction in some points which are set down thus in his letters:—

“I shall desire to know the pleasure of my Lord Protector and Council, whether, in case I shall conclude those articles of amity and commerce, omitting the second, fifth, and seventh articles, if his Highness will be pleased to approve thereof. I confess my humble opinion is (unless I receive commands to the contrary) that in case the peace be concluded between us and Holland, and Denmark included, it will be no disadvantage to us to conclude the alliance here, omitting the second, fifth, and that part of the seventh article against which her Majesty objected, if she shall insist upon it.

“Another point wherein I pray direction is upon the sixteenth article of your treaty with the Dutch, that either Commonwealth shall be comprehended, if they desire it, in treaties with other Princes, and notice to be given of such treaties; whether in case your treaty with the Dutch shall be agreed, that then notice ought to be given to them of the treaty with the Queen of Sweden, and the Dutch to be offered to be comprehended therein; or whether, the treaty here being begun before that with the Dutch concluded, there will be any cause to give such notice to them, or to

give notice to the Queen of your treaty with the Dutch ; which you will be pleased to consider.

"I am very willing to hasten homewards when I may obtain my Lord's order ; and that it will be no prejudice here to your service, as I conceive such a conclusion would not at all be.

"I presume you have heard of the news at Antwerp, which is very fresh here this week, that the Archduke hath imprisoned the Duke of Lorraine in the castle of Antwerp, which caused the gates of the town to be shut ; and that hath occasioned to your friends here the loss of the comfort of this week's letters from England, the post being stayed there, as I was certified from your Resident at Hamburg."

Many despatches were made by Whitelocke to his friends in England, as his constant course was.

March 11, 1653.

The Ricks-Admiral visited Whitelocke. He dis-
coursed of the treaty here, and said that the Queen
had not yet informed the Council of it in particular.
He much inquired of the nobility of England, of the
Earls and Barons, and of their privileges, and what
rank their children had, and of the several orders of
knights, and of their original ; in which matters White-
locke was able to give him some satisfaction. He told
Whitelocke that the Duke of Lorraine was imprisoned
for conspiring with the Count de Bassigni to betray
three strong towns to the King of France.

Admiral
Oxenstiern
visits
White-
locke.

Whitelocke visited Prince Adolphus, who also dis-
coursed of his business, as others did. Whitelocke
told him of his long being here without any answer.
The Prince said, the Queen's designs to introduce a

Interview
with Prince
Adolphus.

mutation might cause it. Whitelocke said he believed that the amity of England deserved so much regard as to be embraced ; and that it would be all one whether the treaty should be agreed upon by the Queen or by her successor, for it concerned the people and State of both nations ; and he presumed that if the Queen should consent to it, that his Highness's brother would have the like good opinion of it. The Prince said it would be most agreeable to his brother, who very much respected the English nation, as generally the Swedish people did. He said that he never was present at the Council, nor did meddle with any public business ; but he doubted not but that Whitelocke would receive contentment. Whitelocke said he promised himself so much, being the Protector had sent him hither to testify his respects to the Queen and to the kingdom of Sweden, and to offer them the amity of England.

The Prince also discoursed of the late King of England, and of the proceedings between him and the Parliament, with great dislike thereof ; to which Whitelocke gave him an account, and a modest answer declining that argument with the Prince, and telling him that every nation had their particular rights and laws, according to which they were governed. He testified great respect to Whitelocke ; and when he took his leave the Prince conducted him as far as the great court, which he used not to do to others of Whitelocke's quality.

March 12, 1653.

The treaty
delayed by
reason of
the Queen's
abdication.

Mr. Bloome—who had been formerly a servant to the old Duke of Buckingham in England, and after that coming to Sweden, was entertained by the Chan-

cellor, and his great creature, and had been employed by him as a public minister—did the honour to Whitelocke to be often with him, and now, after dinner, discoursed much of the revolution which was likely to happen in this country by the Queen's resignation; upon which subject Whitelocke thought not fit to speak much in company.

Afterwards in private Whitelocke asked Mr. Bloome if he had heard the Chancellor speak of deferring his business till the Prince were crowned. Bloome confessed he heard the Chancellor say that he thought it would be more convenient to have Whitelocke's business resolved after the King should be crowned than at present. Whitelocke told him (which he supposed Bloome would again relate to the Chancellor) that all acts of such nature concluded by the Queen before her resignation would be held authentic by her successor. Bloome said he believed so, but, being the change would be so soon, he thought it might be better to have the business put into the hands of the new King. Whitelocke said it would require a long time to expect the new King's settlement, before which he believed his return home might be commanded. Bloome said the business would be soon done after the meeting of the Ricksdag, which did not use to sit long. By this and other discourses Whitelocke found that there was a purpose in some to defer the conclusion of his treaty to the King, which he therefore prepared to prevent.

La Belle Comtesse made a great entertainment and ball for Montecuculi and the rest of the gallants this night, though it were the Lord's Day; but Whitelocke nor none of his company were present at it.

March 13, 1653.

Whitelocke
confers
with Count
Eric Oxen-
stiern on
the arti-
cles.

Grave Eric came to Whitelocke to confer about his treaty, and said to him.

Grave Eric. The Queen hath commanded me to come to you and to have some conference with you about your proposals, wherein she is pleased to make use of my service, because at this time my father is very ill of an ague, and is not able himself to meet with you; and his former indisposition of health and extraordinary affairs hath been some occasion of hindrance of the despatch of your business, as have also the uncertainty of the issue of your treaty with Holland, and our great business of the Queen's intentions here.

Whitelocke. I have long expected some answer to be given in my business, the greatest part whereof hath no dependence upon the treaty with Holland, and the Queen's intentions here have been but lately made known. I have been three months in this place without any answer to my business, although I presume that the amity of England is grateful to this nation, and may merit the acceptance.

Gr. Eric. So is the friendship of Sweden.

Wh. My Lord Protector hath testified that by sending me hither.

Gr. Eric. The Queen hath likewise sent several public ministers to England, and Mr. Lagerfeldt was a long time there without effecting anything.

Wh. He had answers to his proposals very often, and it was on his part that a conclusion was not had with him. But if you please to proceed to a conference upon my proposals, I am ready to treat with

you, as I have always been to treat with my Lord Chancellor, your father, for whose ill-health I am heartily sorry.

Gr. Eric. I am ready in the same way of secrecy as it hath been carried with my father, so that Mr. Beningen in his letters to his superiors saith that the English Ambassador did treat with none but the Queen alone, and sometimes alone with the Chancellor, whereby he could not possibly give any account of those transactions; for he thought that not one person in Sweden, except the Queen and the Chancellor, knew what they were.

Wh. The gentleman hath done me an honour in that expression.

Gr. Eric. My coming to your Excellence is to proceed in your business; and I desire a consideration may be had of the great losses which the Queen's subjects have sustained by the seizing and detaining of their ships by the English.

Wh. This is a new objection, and I am neither empowered nor have ability to cast up such accounts or to take such examinations; but there is a court of justice in England, which I presume has done, and will do, right to any who have cause to complain; and I know that my Lord Protector will command that justice shall be done to all the Queen's subjects; and if any of them have received any injury, they ought to receive a just satisfaction from the parties that did them wrong; and, if you please, I shall mention these things in my letters to England, and when I come thither myself I will personally endeavour that the same may be had fully.

Gr. Eric. I hope a just satisfaction will be given

herein, without which there can be no solid foundation of amity between the two nations and their people.

Wh. The same is reasonably and mutually to be expected; and I make no question but my Lord Protector will order right to be done therein.

Gr. Eric. The Queen's subjects have received great losses under colour of contraband goods, when the same hath not been proved.

Wh. And many of our allies have been found to colour our enemies' goods to the damage of England; but these matters will be proper for an examination elsewhere.

They proceeded to the particular articles.

1. This, Eric said, was equal.

2. He made the same objections as the Queen had done, and Whitelocke gave the same answers; and Eric said that this article depended upon our treaty with the Dutch.

3. Eric desired an explanation of the words "omnibus in locis quibus hactenus commercium exercebatur,"—whether that were not intended to include the English plantations in America, because traffic thither, without special license, was prohibited by our Commonwealth; and he said it would be unequal for the English to have the full traffic in the Queen's dominions, and her subjects not to have the like in our Commonwealth. Whitelocke answered, that the English desired no traffic in any of the Queen's dominions out of Europe, and therefore it was equal not to consent to their traffic in America; and that the opinion of the Council of State in England had been made known to Mr. Lagerfeldt in England, in this point; which paper Whitelocke then showed, and the Grave

urged many other arguments, but Whitelocke kept himself to the paper of the Council.

Eric said, those transactions of Lagerfeldt were remitted to Whitelocke's Embassy. Whitelocke said, that whatever his instructions might warrant, yet it would not become him to do anything contrary to that wherein the Council of State had declared their judgement. The same answer Whitelocke gave him concerning the herring-fishing, which Eric much insisted upon; and as to the pre-emption of the commodities of Sweden, mentioned in the Council's paper, which Whitelocke showed him, Eric said that could not be, because those commodities were of very great value, and belonged to several private persons; and he demanded of Whitelocke if he thought England would be contented to give a pre-emption of all their cloth.

Whitelocke said, the cloth of England was likewise of very great value, and there would hardly be found one stock to buy it all, and there were several staples in other countries to vent it at; and he said he thought the best way would be, first to agree upon the general amity and commerce between the two nations, and afterwards, if Sweden held it fit, when they sent an ambassador to England, or otherwise, to propound anything concerning the fishing for herrings or the traffic in America, or touching a staple at Narva, Revel, or Gothenburg (which Eric likewise discoursed of at large), that the Protector would give a fair and just answer.

4. Eric made the same objections that the Queen had done, and had the same answers.

5. The like discourse was upon this article.

6. The sixth, Eric said, was the same in effect with

the fourth article, and might be adjoined to it. Whitelocke showed him the difference, chiefly in the beginning of this article ; and so they passed on.

7. They had many arguments touching contraband goods, wherein Whitelocke held himself to the paper given by the Council to Lagerfeldt ; and Eric passed it over, as depending upon the success of the treaty with Holland, especially in the words "*bona à suis cujusque inimicis direpta.*"

8. This, Eric thought, would need explanation of the words "*in quolibet suorum marium.*" Whitelocke told him that was intended in Europe only.

9. Eric said the words "*armatis vel inermibus*" were not necessary, because by the law of Sweden any might carry their arms with them. Whitelocke told him that it was not permitted in England for so many together without license.

10. Eric made no objection to this article.

11. Nor any to this article.

12. Nor was anything objected to this article.

13. Eric said the proviso needed explanation as to the point of breaking bulk, as the Queen had objected ; and Whitelocke gave the same answer.

14. The like objections and answers as before, and consent to the like amendment.

Eric and much other good company dined with Whitelocke, and after dinner they had further discourse on the same subject. And Eric promised to give his objections to Whitelocke in writing, and to let him know the Queen's pleasure upon their conference ; which Whitelocke intended to know also from the Queen herself.

The company being gone, Whitelocke visited Pie-

mentelle, who discoursed much touching the Duke of Lorraine, and of the insolencies of his soldiers, for which the Duke would give no right; but if a poor countryman complained to him, that his wife had been ravished by his soldiers, and his goods taken away, the Duke would laugh at the poor man, and say to him, "It is my condition: the King of France hath ravished my wife and my estate, and I have got another wife, and maintain myself with the goods of others; and I advise thee to do the same as I have done." Piementelle informed Whitelocke of a carriage of Beningen of much more incivility towards the Queen than that which he attributed to Whitelocke towards Prince Adolphus; and Whitelocke imparted to Piementelle some passages between Grave Eric and Whitelocke, supposing he would tell it to the Queen.

March 14, 1653.

Four of the Queen's servants did Whitelocke the honour to dine with him; and after they were gone, Whitelocke visited the Field-Marshal Wrangel, a gentleman of an ancient noble family in this country, son to General Wrangel, of whom so often and so honourable mention is made in the German wars under Gustavus Adolphus, the Queen's father.

*Interview
with Gene-
ral Wran-
gel.*

This Field-Marshal was about thirty-five years of age; his person proper and burly, his countenance martial and ingenuous, and his discourse answerable; his behaviour courteous, and full of cheerfulness in his words and actions. His education was liberal; some time he had spent in foreign parts, and had attained languages and the military part of learning. He was

full of knowledge of the mathematics, and well read in story. His genius led him most to warfare, and the sea affairs seemed most suitable to his affections; whereof he would much discourse with Whitelocke, and admired his relations of the English fleets and havens. His valour and conduct had commonly the best associate, good success, which he used to improve, not parting with the least advantage. This brought him to the favour of his Queen and honour of his country, wherein he was a Ricks-Senator, and as a Field-Marshal commanded the army, and was Ricks-Vice-Admiral, which charge he attained in the late war with Denmark; and he it was that took the King of Denmark's ships in the late fight with them. Whitelocke gave him thanks for his favours to Whitelocke's son at Stockholm; they discoursed of the English navy, whereof Wrangel knew many of the ships by name. He told Whitelocke that Middleton was arrived in Scotland with two hundred officers and six thousand arms, which he brought from the Low Countries.

From Wrangel Whitelocke went to visit Woolfeldt, to congratulate his recovery of health. He told Whitelocke that, by letters which he received from one of his servants in the Low Countries, he was advertised that the States had sold above twenty of their ships of war, and that his servant heard the Admiral de Witt speak of it. He also told Whitelocke that he had spoken with many officers of the army, and found all of them wish that the war between England and Holland might continue; by which they hoped they should join with the English, and gain advantage by it, and themselves good employment and plunder. But he said that the Chancellor and his sons, and

their party, desired that a peace might be between the two Commonwealths, because they were rich enough, and had an interest in trade, and were no soldiers; and that the Queen desired peace among all her neighbours, and although she was very courageous, yet she loved not the wars.

March 15, 1653.

Whitelocke waited on the Queen, and gave her an account of the conference between Grave Eric and him. The Queen said that Grave Eric had told her the same things. Whitelocke replied, that her Majesty should never find other than truth from him. Upon the point of damages she seemed satisfied, though she were informed that those matters were remitted to Whitelocke's negotiation. To which he answered as he had done before to Eric; and she was contented, and said she would send an ambassador to England, by whom the affairs touching the herring-fishing and the erection of a staple and the trade in America might be concluded; and she told Whitelocke that she had ordered those things which she judged fit to be added to his articles, to be written down and given to him.

Further
conference
with the
Queen.

She asked Whitelocke by what way he purposed to return to England. He said he was doubtful of going by land, and thought the passage from Stockholm to Lübeck would be the shortest and most convenient for him. She replied, that would be his best way, and that she would give order for some of her ships to be ready to transport him; for which Whitelocke thanked her Majesty.

She discoursed much of England, and asked many questions about the Thames and other rivers of England, and of their havens and armies; whereof Whitelocke gave her a full account. She asked him in how many days one might go from Plymouth to St. Sebastian, and many other things on that subject. They also discoursed of religion and the worship and service of God; wherein Whitelocke spake plainly and freely to her Majesty, and told her that those who made a mock at religion, and were Atheists in their opinion, were not only most miserable in their own condition, but brought others likewise into misery; and all of them would find that God would not be mocked, nor such conversation be excused, but would be brought into a sad account in the end; and that there was no foundation in any such people, or in their opinions, but what was sandy and would fail, and all building thereupon would totter and fall down and become rubbish; that the only solid comfort and true wisdom lay in the sincere worship and service of God, which was not only agreeable to the doctrine of truth, but to reason itself. To this, and much of the like discourse, the Queen was very attentive, and seemed pleased with it.

March 16, 1653.

Despatches
from Eng-
land.

Whitelocke received his letters from England, and in those from Thurloe he writes thus:—

“The particular account your Excellence gives of your negotiation is very acceptable here, as is also your dexterous management thereof. The paper you were pleased to send to me shall be represented to the Council; and your Excel-

lence may be assured that a due care will be taken of that business, as well for justice' sake as that your present business be not hindered by things of this kind. The bales of the Queen's goods shall also be taken care of, and any omissions which have been therein rectified; and I do assure your Excellence that the Queen's Commissary here hath such speedy and effectual despatches in everything he makes application for, that I know he cannot but give notice of it to the Queen."

Then he gives in his letters a full relation of the state of the Dutch treaty, and all particulars of it, and the likelihood of its taking effect; and gives intelligence of the French news; and sends copies of Benningen's letters from Upsal to the States, and of the posture of affairs in England, Scotland, and Ireland: and concludes,—

"Therefore, with my humble thanks for your Excellence's favour to me of your weekly letters, and hearty wishes for your safe and honourable return to your friends and relations here, I rest,

"Your Excellence's most humble and faithful servant,

"JO. THURLOE."

"February 16, 1653."

Whitelocke received many letters from his private friends, his brothers-in-law, Mr. Hall, Mr. Cokaine, Mr. Eltonhead, Sir Charles Woolsey, Colonel Sydenham, and one from Mr. Selden, which for the extraordinary respect thereof, and the person's sake (of whom the Queen made often inquiry), is fit to be remembered, and was thus:—

"To his Excellence the Lord Whitelocke, Lord Ambassador
to her Most Excellent Majesty of Sweden.

Letter from
Selden.

"May it please your Excellence,

"There is nothing happens here that can be worthy of

your knowledge but you meet with it doubtless long before I could send it,—indeed, I think, long before I know it,—so that I cannot present you with any English news: my still keeping in from the open cold air makes me a mere winter stranger in my own country. The best news I have heard since I had the honour to see you, and that which brought me with it an ample store of gladness, was the assurance of your Excellence's safety, which a false rumour with great confidence had utterly destroyed here. There is none living can with more hearty affection wish all happiness to you, and good success in your great employment there, and a safe and timely return, than doth most really,

“ Your Excellence's most obliged

“ and most humble servant,

“ J. SELDEN.

“ *Whitefriars, February 10, 1653.*”

The occasion of that passage in his letter of a false rumour was news brought into England that Whitelocke was stabbed and murdered in Sweden; and thus his death was with much confidence reported from several hands, and from divers intelligences out of several parts of Christendom. Whitelocke's friends were much startled at this news, and the more because of former intelligences of designs of that nature against him, whereof they wrote him word; and he was glad to read the news, and that, through the goodness of God, he was able to confute those reports. They were kept from Whitelocke's wife by the care of his friends, till one in gladness came to give her joy that the ill news of her husband was not true; which brought the whole matter to her knowledge, and herself to great perplexity upon the sudden apprehension and fright of it, though there was no truth in it.

Whitelocke, that he might not seem wholly to neg-

lect the Queen's favour, had sent a packet of his letters which had no secrets unto Monsieur Bonele, the Queen's Commissary in England, who wrote back an account to Whitelocke of his care of them, and of the command he had received from the Queen so to do, and prayed Whitelocke to speak to the Queen on Bonele's behalf.

March 17, 1653.

Prince Adolphus visited Whitelocke, and they dis-
 coursed much of England and of Whitelocke's busi-
 ness; whom the Prince persuaded to stay in patience
 for an answer, and he doubted not but that he would
 receive satisfaction. Whitelocke said that hitherto he
 had been very patient, and would continue so, and
 not importune anybody to speed his answer, being it
 concerned both nations; and he believed that Sweden
 would be as well disposed to entertain the amity of
 England as England had been in the offer of it. But
 Whitelocke thought fit to inform the Prince and some
 others that he thought his residence here would not
 be long, and that as soon as my Lord Protector should
 send his letter for his return to England (which he
 expected in a short time), he would presently take his
 journey. They discoursed also touching his brother,
 who was to succeed, and of the brotherly affection be-
 tween them; as also of the proposal which had been
 heretofore made in the Ricksdag of the Queen to
 marry his Royal Highness, and the Council's advice
 and endeavours to further the same; and how it was
 not brought to pass, the Queen being wholly adverse
 to marriage, but causing the succession of the Prince
 Palatine to be enacted by the Ricksdag after her

Prince
 Adolphus
 visits
 Whitelocke.

Majesty, if she had no children. And in these particulars the Prince was free in his discourse, but Whitelocke thought not fit for him to be so.

Letter of
Jonathan
Pickens.

Whitelocke communicated to some of his company a letter which he received from a member of a congregation in London, which was thus :—

“ For his Excellence the Lord Ambassador Whitelocke at Sweden.

“ My Lord,

“ The wise and holy carriage of Solomon before the Queen of Sheba are more lasting monuments of his praise than his targets of gold, or magnificent temple. The glory of saints is a glorious name, by which, though dead, yet they speak. God will not be ungrateful, nor unfaithful to forget or not to recompense any labour of love. The interest of Christ,—what greater jewel in the world ! and yet how little liked and loved by the world ! All seek their own, not the things of Jesus Christ. The best, the noblest, the most lasting, yet not minded : our own things, poor, low, uncertain, unsatisfactory, yet pursued. The heart runneth after the wedge of gold, and the mind seeks for greatness. Give me honour, or else I die : a crown here is more desired than heaven hereafter. Divine love hath great danger accompanying it, but the recompense is answerable : ‘ Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.’ Learned Paul counts all things but dung and dross to holy Christ ; and Moses esteemed reproaches for Christ, and afflictions with the people of Christ, greater riches than the treasures of Egypt or the honours at Court. And now, Sir, will you have the meaning of all ? It is only a Christian motive to you to eye the highest Lord and the best interest with the greatest industry ; that his honour, which is best of all, be dearer to you than all country honour : life, world, are not to be named in the day of his glory. Oh mind him who will not forget you in the least ! There’s none in heaven like him : can there be anything on earth

compared to him? Two things are chiefly to be minded in all actings,—the springs from whence, and the centre to which, all moves. If love to God be the spring of all, and glory for God the centre of all, then the heart is upright in all. Remember the blessed sound, ‘Well done, thou good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful in a little, but thou shalt be enjoyer of much; enter into thy Lord’s joy.’ And truly, Sir, you have been not a little in my thoughts to God for you; so hath it emboldened me thus to speak to God for you. My soul and many more have been set a-praising God on your behalf, for that noble Christian testimony and dislike of that wicked custom of cup-health pledging; whereas a Christian’s health is God, and his cup salvation. And blessed be the Lord, that did give you to dislike the ball of pleasure, and that the Lord of that day was so precious. Go on nobly for the Lord; give your testimony against the wicked customs of a strange country or dying world; bear his image in all your transactions, and follow his steps who was the most glorious Ambassador that ever was; and in this motion the Lord fill your sails with his gales, make you holily successful, and give you to see your land and relations full of heavenly fruition, is the humble and hearty desire of one of the least sons of Zion, ready to serve the Lord in you or yours.

“JONATHAN PICKES.”

March 18, 1653.

Doctor Whistler made a copy of Latin verses upon the Queen’s abdication, which, for the ingenuity and fancy, were worthy the sight of a Prince; and Whitelocke sent them to the Queen, who was much taken with them. Whitelocke was so pleased with those verses that, having a little leisure, himself turned them into English.*

* [The Ambassador’s verses I have ventured to omit, as alike destitute of elegance, point, or metre.]

Whitelocke having sent to know if the Queen were at leisure that he might wait upon her, she returned an excuse that she was not well: she came away sick from the public schools, where she had been to grace the disputations of a young Swedish Baron with her presence. .

Effect of
the peace
with
Holland.

Senator Bundt visited Whitelocke, and discoursed with him in English, which he spake indifferently well, and was the only Swede he conversed with in that language. Part of their discourse was to this effect:—

Bundt. Mr. Beningen, the Holland Resident in this Court, acquainted me that his superiors have concluded the agreement with England: only some provinces desire a more express inclusion of the King of Denmark than is yet contained in the articles; and they are much troubled that, being upon the conclusion of the treaty, you make so great preparations of war, and have so powerful a fleet at sea; and we here do much wonder what should be your design to have so strong a fleet, and so soon out at sea.

Wh. The design is for the defence of the Commonwealth; and it is our custom not to trust to the success of any treaties, which is uncertain, but to prepare for all events. If the treaty be agreed, it will be religiously observed on our part, and the navy will be employed to scour the seas of pirates and enemies, that trade may be free and safe; and we always use in time of peace to have a fleet at sea; and if the war continue, we shall be the more ready, by the blessing of God, to maintain our right. But what suspicion have you here of our navy?

Bundt. We suppose it may be employed to open the

passage of the Sound, and make the trade and navigation there free.

Wh. The hindrance of navigation there is more prejudicial to Sweden than to England. We can have our commodities at Gothenburg and in other places, without passing the Baltic Sea.

Bundt. Many amongst us know not what to think of your fleet, and it troubles some.

Wh. I hope we shall be in nearer amity, and then you will be pleased at it. Have the Senators consulted about the matters of my treaty, or of remitting it to the new King?

Bundt. We have not advised any such thing, but believe the best way for effecting your business will be by the Queen herself; and if any tell you the contrary, they are much mistaken in the affairs of this kingdom, and do not give you a right understanding of them.

This being wholly contrary to what was informed by Monsieur Bloome, the Chancellor's creature, caused Whitelocke the more to mind it, and endeavour to obviate that prejudice of delay to his business; and finding by this discourse with Bundt how much the Dutch Resident and others here were amused at the English fleet now at sea, he made use thereof, and gave advice of it to his superiors in England.

March 19, 1653.

Whitelocke sent to inquire of the Queen's health; and it being the Lord's Day, she was in her chapel. Divers English and Scots of the town came to Whitelocke's house to hear sermons there; and among them

*Intrigues of
the Dutch
Resident
against
White-
locke.*

was Monsieur Ravius, who acquainted Whitelocke that one of the Queen's chaplains asked Ravius how long Whitelocke intended to stay in Sweden. Ravius said he would shortly return to his own country. The chaplain replied, he did not believe that, but he thought Whitelocke would stay here a long time, and that he durst not return to England because of the displeasure of the Protector against him. And when he was answered that Whitelocke came hither not in the posture of a man out of favour, and that the Protector since his accession to the Government had sent him new credentials, and expressed much favour to him, and sent to be certified what respect the Queen gave him, the chaplain replied that Whitelocke was sent hither purposely to be removed out of England, and because he had been of the former Parliament; to which Ravius said, that many who were of the former Parliament were now in public offices, as Whitelocke was.

There was cause to believe that this and many the like stories were feigned by the Holland Resident and other enemies of the Commonwealth, to asperse Whitelocke and his business, and to give some obstruction to it; but Whitelocke took little notice of such things, only he thanked Monsieur Ravius for his defence of Whitelocke and of the truth.

It was also related to Whitelocke that the inauguration of his Royal Highness could not probably be performed till the feast of St. John the Baptist, and that then nothing could be concluded in his business till the feast (as they expressed it) of the Holy Archangel St. Michael next following, because it was fit to be remitted to the Prince for his final agreement thereunto; and so the treaty must necessarily receive a deferring

till that time, which, they said, would be best for Whitelocke's affairs. Whitelocke told them that it would be somewhat difficult to persuade him that such a delay of his business would be best; he was sufficiently convinced of the contrary, and that such an obstruction would render his treaty wholly fruitless both to England and Sweden, and that he hoped to be himself in England long before the time which they prefixed for the beginning of his treaty with the new King; and that he daily expected the commands of the Protector touching his return home, which he should readily and willingly obey, whether his treaty here should be concluded or not. He spake the more to this effect, and the oftener, that the same might come to the ear of the Chancellor and other senators.

March 20, 1653.

Whitelocke visited Piementelle, who communicated to him the news of the Duke of Lorraine, and that the United Provinces of the Netherlands had ratified the articles with England. Whitelocke asked if Groningen had consented. He said yes, but with this restriction, that the Prince of Orange should be comprised in the treaty, which might yet cause some obstruction in it. Whitelocke imparted to him some of his news, and imparted such passages of his conferences and business as he desired might by him be related to the Queen.

Senator Schütt visited Whitelocke, and staid with him above two hours. They discoursed of many things unnecessary to be remembered; some was thus:—

Schütt. I am sorry that the business of your treaty

Peace signed between England and the United Provinces.

Senator Schütt affects to be favourable to the treaty.

goes on so slowly ; but I hope you will excuse it, in regard the Chancellor is not quick in despatches, and affects long deliberations in great matters.

Whitelocke. That is an argument of his prudence and well weighing of things before he come to a resolution ; and certainly he hath had sufficient time of deliberation in my business.

Sch. The Chancellor sometimes may take more time than is necessary for one business, and borrow it for another ; he knows the advantages of times and seasons, and how to improve them.

Wh. I have found it so ; but methinks my business should have been so acceptable as to have prevented such great delays.

Sch. Your negotiation as to the amity with England was in consideration with the Council here before your arrival ; and all of us agreed that it was more desirable than any other.

Wh. I believe it would be agreeable to you, who are persons of great experience, knowing the interest of your own country, and how considerable the English nation is ; and this caused a belief in me that I might promise myself an answer to my proposals before my departure from hence.

Sch. The great affairs of this kingdom, and the change likely to happen, have put a stop to all other business ; and in case your negotiation cannot be brought to a conclusion during your stay here, yet it may be agreed upon afterwards by an ambassador to be sent from hence to England.

Wh. My Lord Protector having testified so much respect to the Queen, as he hath done in sending me Ambassador hither, for me, after four or five months'

residence and negotiation in this place, to be sent home again without any conclusion of my business, but the same to be remitted to the sending of an ambassador from hence to England, would be no answer to the respect of the Protector in sending me hither.

Sch. The Parliament sent your Excellence hither, as I understood, and not the Protector.

Wh. My coming hither was at first by my Lord Protector's desire, he being then General, and without his earnest request to me I had not undertaken it; and since his access to the Government I have received new credentials from him, by virtue whereof only I have negotiated, and am the first public Minister employed by his Highness.

Sch. It is a very great respect which the Protector hath manifested to you, and by you to our Queen and nation, and that which you say carries reason with it. I shall do all that possibly may lie in my power to testify my respects and service to his Highness and Commonwealth of England, and to your Excellence their honourable Ambassador.

Wh. You are pleased to express a great honour and esteem for my Lord Protector and for his servant, whereof I shall not fail, by any service in my power, to make acknowledgment to your Excellence.

There were many other compliments and discourses between them; and the Senator fell into a relation of Russia, where he had been, and of the Great Duke's bringing at one time into the field an army of 200,000 men, divided into three parties, whereof one part fell upon Poland, and had lately taken divers considerable places in that kingdom; and much more he spake of this exploit, which is omitted.

March 21, 1653.

Senator
Schütt's
duplicity.

Whitelocke was somewhat surprised by the carriage of Senator Schütt to him yesterday, and with his freedom of discourse, which showed him either to be a courtier and versed in the art of simulation, or the reports made of him to Whitelocke to be untrue. Now he seemed clearly for the league with England; before, he expressed himself against it; now he showed civility and respect to Whitelocke and to his superiors; before, he spake disdainfully of them and their affairs.

But an ambassador must hear and see many things, and yet take no notice of them; must court an enemy to become a friend, as he believed he had done to Schütt, who, after acquaintance between him and Whitelocke, became very friendly. But Whitelocke held it requisite to keep at somewhat more distance with him than with others, because he had been informed that there was not much of kindness between the Chancellor and this gentleman, which was confirmed by discourse this day with Lagerfeldt.

Lagerfeldt. I entreat your Excellence's excuse for my long absence, which hath been occasioned by an employment lately bestowed on me by her Majesty, which takes up my time in the discharge of it.

Whitelocke. I do congratulate the honour and favour of the Queen towards you, in this part of a reward for your good service in England, whereof I was a witness and have affirmed it to her Majesty. What is the office she hath given you?

Lag. It is the Vice-President of the College of Trade.

Wh. I suppose the office is profitable as well as honourable.

Lag. A competent salary is annexed to the office, and with us no person doth serve in any office or public employment, but he hath a salary for it from the State.

Wh. That is honourable, and for the advantage of the State. One of your Ricks-Senators was here with me yesterday, and I had much discourse with him about my business.

Lag. Which of them was with your Excellence?

Wh. The Senator Schütt, whom I saw not before.

Lag. I wonder at his visit; did he express much respect to your Commonwealth?

Wh. As much as any I have met with.

Lag. I much wonder at it; but shall advise your Excellence not to depend much upon this gentleman, nor to be over-free in your discourse with him; for he hath been under a cloud, and is very intimate with the Holland Resident.

Wh. I thank you for your caution; but I have communicated nothing to him but what might be published.

Lag. My Lord Eric Oxenstiern hath, by the Queen's command, some papers touching your business to be imparted to you.

Wh. Do you remember the effect of them?

Lag. They contain some explanation of the articles given in by your Excellence, and some additions offered to them, but not much differing from those exhibited by you.

They had much discourse about these additions and explanations, whereof Whitelocke endeavoured to get as much knowledge from Lagerfeldt as he could be-

forehand, that he might be the better prepared to debate upon them when they should be produced; and he declared his sense positively against some of them to Lagerfeldt, which proved an advantage. Some of those additions mentioned by Lagerfeldt, being upon his report to Grave Eric of Whitelocke's judgement upon them, were left out of Grave Eric's paper.

Further
conference
with Grave
Eric Oxen-
stiern.

In the afternoon Grave Eric came to Whitelocke, and they had this discourse together:—

Gr. Eric. Here is a paper, which I shall read unto you, containing some matters wherein I desire your consideration, being they relate to the treaty, as touching contraband goods; that there may be such a liberty, that trade be not impeached, that prizes may not be brought into the ports of friends, nor enemies admitted into the havens of the friends and allies of either nations; that the fishing for herrings and the trade in America may be free for the Swedes, and that they may have satisfaction for the wrongs done to them by the English at sea.

Whitelocke. Here is very much in these particulars to which I have formerly given my answer, and can give no other. England hath had no reason to give a liberty of contraband goods when their enemies deny it, and it were hard to forbid friends to bring prizes into the ports of friends, being no prejudice to the owner of the port, but a discourtesy to the friend; neither is it reason to deny a friend to enter into my harbour because he is an enemy to another that is my friend also, whose quarrel I am not bound to wed. For the liberty of herring-fishing, it may be had from our Commonwealth upon reasonable conditions; and for the trade in America, I am not instructed to as-

sent to anything therein, but I supposed it had been intended to send from hence to the Protector about it. And for satisfaction of wrongs, I know none done by the English to the Queen's subjects, and imagined that her Majesty had been satisfied in these points.

Gr. Eric. I have order to acquaint you with these particulars, and to confer with you about them, being esteemed by us just and reasonable.

Wh. After my attendance here three or four months without any answer to my proposals, I did not expect to receive new ones from you so different from those which I gave in with equal respect to the good of both nations; and I having offered the friendship of England to you in general, you answer that it will be accepted, but upon particular and hard conditions.

Gr. Eric. I confess there hath been too much delay in your business, but it hath been occasioned by the uncertainty of the issue of your treaty with Holland.

Wh. The issue of that treaty is not yet known, and the articles given in by me had no relation thereunto, and were proposed three months since.

Gr. Eric. At present we take it for granted that the peace is concluded between you and Holland, and that now you are good friends.

Wh. I wish we may be so; and if that peace be concluded, there is the less need of your proposals touching prizes, contrabrand goods, etc.

Gr. Eric. Though the peace be concluded between you, yet it is prudent to make those provisions, in case of a new war with them or others.

Wh. I shall desire a copy of your particulars.

Gr. Eric. You shall have them ; and I desire you to read this paper, which is an order of the Council of State in England, delivered to Mr. Lagerfeldt when he was there, whereby these particulars are remitted to your negotiation.

Wh. This paper bears date after my departure from England, and I never saw it before, nor received any particular instructions on this subject.

Gr. Eric. If you are not satisfied touching the point of damages sustained by her Majesty's subjects in the taking of their ships and goods by the English, there may be witnesses examined here for proof thereof.

Wh. I cannot erect a Court or Commissioners, or consent to examination of witnesses, in this place and upon this occasion; nor can I take accounts of merchants ; I confess my ignorance.

Gr. Eric. It may be contained in the treaty that justice shall be done, and satisfaction given to my countrymen for the wrongs done to them.

Wh. That cannot be so expressed without accusing our Commonwealth, and at least confessing wrongs done, and implying that justice hath not been done ; but I can assure you that the Commonwealth hath done, and will do, justice to their friends and to all persons, and I shall do all that lies in my power for that end.

Gr. Eric. I shall inform the Queen what hath passed in our conference, and know her Majesty's pleasure therein.

March 22, 1653.

Monsieur Lyllicrone informed Whitelocke that

Prince Adolphus had taken a solemn leave of the Queen, and was gone into the country. Whitelocke asked if it was upon any discontent; Lyllicrone said he knew not. Whitelocke asked if he would not be at the Ricksdag; Lyllicrone said he believed the Prince did not intend to be at it, but to travel *incognito* with a few servants into France and Italy.

The French Resident visited Whitelocke in the afternoon, and seeing his coaches and horses ready to go abroad to take the air, offered, with many compliments, to bear Whitelocke company, which he could not refuse. The Resident acquainted Whitelocke that Monsieur Bordeaux, now in London, had received a commission from the King of France to be his Ambassador to the Protector, and that Bordeaux had written to this gentleman here, to salute Whitelocke on his part, and to signify to him that Bordeaux would be willing to entertain a correspondence with Whitelocke, and had expressed much affection to his person. Whitelocke answered that he should be ready to testify all respect and service to Monsieur Bordeaux, and desired the Resident to testify the same to him at his next opportunity. Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke, who had some trouble in discourse with them both together,—the Resident speaking only French, and Lagerfeldt only Latin, and he must answer them in their respective languages.

The French
advances
resumed.

After the Resident was gone, Lagerfeldt discoursed with Whitelocke about the treaty, particularly of the new proposals showed him by Grave Eric. Whitelocke gave the same answers to Lagerfeldt as he had done to Eric: then Lagerfeldt said, that by command of the Queen, he was to tender to Whitelocke a copy

of articles. Whitelocke asked if they were the same that Grave Eric yesterday imparted to him, and whether Lagerfeldt had any speech with the Queen this day about them. Lagerfeldt said they were altered in some part, so as to make them the more acceptable to Whitelocke, and that he had a few words with the Queen about them.

This caused Whitelocke to marvel that the Queen should pretend to him that she was sick, and therefore put off the audience which he desired this day, and yet her Majesty found herself well enough to peruse and debate with Lagerfeldt these articles ; but he said nothing thereof to others, only made thereof his own observations and use, as he saw occasion. Lagerfeldt and he perused these new articles, and had much discourse upon them, and in effect the same as with Grave Eric.

White-
locke's
amusements
in his
household.

In the long winter-nights here, Whitelocke thought fit to give way to some passages of diversion to please his people, and to keep them together in his house, and from temptations to disorder and debauchery in going abroad, besides the danger of the streets in being late out. He therefore had music, both instrumental and vocal, in concert, performed by those of his own family, who were some of them excellent in that art, and himself sometimes bore his part with them. He also gave way to their exercise and pleasure of dancing in his great chamber, that he might be present at it, and admitted no undecent postures, but seemly properties of habits in their shows. He encouraged public disputations in Latin among the young men who were scholars, himself present in the great chamber, and appointing a moderator ; and this

exercise they found useful and pleasant, and improving their language. To this end likewise they had public declamations in Latin, himself giving them the question, as "an quodcunque evenerit sit optimum," etc., so that his house was like an academy.

March 23, 1653.

Whitelocke attended the Queen; and after some discourses of pleasantries, they fell upon the treaty, and Whitelocke said to her:—

Whitelocke again negotiates with the Queen.

Whitelocke. My business, Madam, is now brought to a conclusion.

Queen. Is it to your liking?

Wh. Pardon me, Madam, if I say it is not at all to my liking; for in the articles which Grave Eric sent me there were many particulars to which I could not agree, and I much wondered to receive such articles from him, being persuaded that your Majesty was before satisfied by me in most of the particulars in them.

Qu. What are those particulars?

The articles Whitelocke had in readiness with him, and his observations upon them, having taken pains this morning to compare their articles with his own, and to frame his objections upon them. The Queen wrote down the objections with her own hand, and then entered into a debate with Whitelocke upon the whole, and seemed to be satisfied in most of the points insisted on by Whitelocke; but was stiff upon the law relating to ships of war which is mentioned in her eleventh article, and upon some other particulars. After the debate, she desired that Whitelocke would the next morning bring to her his objec-

tions in writing ; and then she said, " We will not be long before we come to a conclusion of this business."

Whitelocke thought it convenient to make his addresses to the Queen herself, and, as much as he could, to decline conferences with her Commissioner Grave Eric, whom he found more than others averse and cross to him in his treaty. And the Queen was pleased to admit Whitelocke to this way, and was not displeased to have applications in this and other affairs of the like nature to be made upon her person ; whereof Whitelocke had private information before from Piementelle, Woolfeldt, and others, whose advice he pursued herein with good success.

Her Majesty also permitted Whitelocke to have a free debate with her upon the points controverted, and would return answers to every argument with as much reason and ingenuity as any of her Ministers of State, and be sooner than they satisfied with what was reason. She told Whitelocke that she marvelled that he, having received those long articles but late the last night, should be able to make objections, and to enter into a debate upon all of them this day, when her people had much longer time to frame these articles. Whitelocke answered, " Yes, by two or three months." After some other discourse, Whitelocke left her in a pleasant humour.

Being returned home, Lagerfeldt came again to him to sift him, and to know what answer the Queen had given to his objections upon the new articles. But Whitelocke fitted his inquiry, and thought not convenient to communicate to him more than what might advantage his business to be reported to Grave Eric ; and because, in all conferences with the Queen,

no person was admitted to be present with them, not her own Commissioners for the treaty, or any of the Senators, for the secrecy of the business, which was much to the liking of Whitelocke, and furtherance of the treaty. They had much discourse upon the new articles, to the same effect as formerly ; and Lagerfeldt said he doubted not but the Queen would in a short time conclude it to Whitelocke's satisfaction.

After this discourse Whitelocke inquired of Lagerfeldt how the Chancellor's health was, and what physicians were about him. Lagerfeldt said he was still sick of his ague, and had no physician attending him but one who had been a chirurgeon in the army, and now constantly lived in the house with the Chancellor as a humble friend, sat at his table, and had a pension from him of four hundred rix-dollars a year ; who had some good receipts, especially for the stone, which agreed with the Chancellor's constitution, which this chirurgeon only studied and attended. And so it was generally in this great and large country. Whitelocke met with no doctor of physic or professed physician in any town or country, not any attending the person of the Queen herself ; but there are many good women, and some private persons, who use to help people that are diseased by some ordinary known medicines ; and their diseases are but few, their remedies generally communicated, and they live many of them to a great age.

Whitelocke received letters from England, which were always welcome, especially bringing the good news of the welfare of his relations. He received very respectful letters from the Earl of Clare, Sir Charles Woolsey, Colonel Sydenham, the Master of the Rolls,

Letters and
despatches
from Eng-
land.

Mr. Reynolds, Lord Commissioner Lisle, and divers others, besides his usual letters from his wife, Mr. Hall, Mr. Cokaine, his brothers-in-law, and divers other friends. In those from Thurloe he had the particular passages of the Dutch treaty, and that he believed the peace with them would be concluded; and in those letters Thurloe also writes thus:—

“Your Excellence’s of the 27th of January I communicated to his Highness and to the Council, who, although they do not by this transaction of the Queen very well understand her intentions as to the peace, yet they are very much satisfied with the management thereof on your part, and commit the issue thereof unto the Lord, who will either bless your endeavours by bringing things to a desired issue, or otherwise dispose of this affair to the glory of God, the good of the Commonwealth, and the comfort of yourself who are employed in it.

“The Council, upon consideration of the whole matter, did not find it necessary to give you any further directions, nor did his Highness, especially seeing his last letters but one did express his sense upon that treaty, and nothing hath occurred since which hath given any cause of alteration.

“The French King and Cardinal, seeing themselves disappointed at the Hague as to their inclusion in that treaty, endeavour to effect it here; and to that purpose the Cardinal sent hither one Monsieur Le Baas to congratulate his Highness, and to assure him of the friendship of the King; and that, if he pleased, the King would banish Charles Stuart and his family out of his dominions, and proclaim the Protector in France; and hath since sent a Commissioner to Monsieur Bordeaux to be Ambassador.

“The Spanish Ambassador doth also very much court his Highness and the present Government. Don Francisco Romero, Captain of the Guard to the Archduke, arrived here the last night, to congratulate his Highness in the Duke’s name.

" I have moved the Council in the two papers your Excellence trusted to my care. What order the Council hath been pleased to make thereupon you will see by their enclosed order, and my care shall not be wanting to see an effectual execution thereof.

" Your Excellence's humble and faithful servant,

" JO. THURLOE.

" *24th February, 1653.*"

The Council's Order was this :—

" AT THE COUNCIL CHAMBER, WHITEHALL.

" *Friday, 24th of February, 1653.*

" On consideration of several papers which came enclosed in a letter from the Lord Ambassador Whitelocke, and were this day presented to the Council, containing some complaints made by divers of the subjects of her Majesty of Sweden, viz. concerning a Swedish galliot called the ' Land of Promise,' and a ship called the ' Castle of Stockholm,' and certain goods taken out of the ' Gold Star' of Hamburg, and claimed as belonging to Alexander Ceccony, gentleman, principal officer of the Queen's wardrobe : *Ordered,* That several copies of the said papers be forthwith sent to the Judges of the Court of Admiralty and to the Commissioners for Prize Goods, to whom it is respectively referred, diligently to inform themselves of the true state of the said ship and goods, and what proceedings have been had in the Court of Admiralty or Prize Office touching the same or any of them, and thereof to make report to the Council. And it is especially recommended and given in charge to the said Judges that both in these and in all matters concerning the said Queen or her subjects, which do or shall depend before them, all right and fair respect be given upon all occasions ; and that whatsoever of the said goods belonging to her Majesty's servant they shall discover, be by them ordered to be forthwith delivered.

Order in
Council on
the Swedish
prizes.

" EX^r W. JESSOR,

" Clerk of the Council."

This Order Whitelocke caused to be translated into Latin, and sent copies of it to the Chancellor, to Grave Eric, to Mr. Ceccony, and to others; and he showed it to the Queen, and all were pleased with it, hoping for further fruit of it, and esteeming Whitelocke to be in good credit with his superiors.

March 24, 1653.

Reports of
the negotia-
tion to
England.

Whitelocke made his despatches for England, and wrote above twenty letters to several of his friends there, finding it grateful to them to receive letters from him at such a distance; and that answers to letters are expected, and ill taken if neglected; that they cost little, and please much. He was hindered by Woolfeldt, who made a long visit to him, though upon the post day; at which he wondered, in regard Woolfeldt had been himself often employed as a public minister, and knew so well what belonged to the making of despatches.

To recover his lost time, Whitelocke (as he often used when business pressed him) wrote one letter himself and dictated two others to his secretaries at the same time, and so, in effect, wrote three letters at once. The letter which he now wrote to Secretary Thurloe contained his whole transactions since his last letters to him; and the conclusion of the letter, showing the state of his negotiation, was this:—

“ This afternoon Grave Eric came to me from the Queen, who desired that my audience, appointed this day, might be put off till the holidays were past, and said that by reason of the sacrament upon Easter Day, this day and tomorrow were to be spent in preparation thereunto; but he

told me that she commanded him to receive my objections to his articles in writing, the which I gave him according to that large paper which you will receive herewith. We had very much debate upon the particulars, much of it according to what I have mentioned before.

"I have thought fit to send you this large paper that you might see the whole business before you at one view, and it hath cost me some pains. I shall continue my best endeavours to bring your business to a good effect. I am put to struggle with more difficulties than I could expect, and their policy here is great. One may soon be overtaken with long, intricate, and new proposals; but I hope God will direct me, whom I do seek, and shall not wilfully transgress my instructions.

"When I speak with the Queen, she seems to be satisfied; and then some of the grandees seek to persuade her to a contrary opinion, and to keep me from her, and lay objections in the way to cross it (for we want no enemies here). I then endeavour again to satisfy the Queen, and break through their designs as well as I can; to do which, and to get a good despatch against all opposition, and yet so as not to supplicate anything from them, nor in the least to prostitute the honour of my Lord Protector and of the Commonwealth, or to prejudice them, is a task hard enough for a great favourite, much more hard for a stranger, and whose differing principles may render him the less acceptable. However, I shall hope that the Lord will direct me for the best, whether they agree with my judgement or not.

"If I can conclude with them, I shall presently be upon my return, and hope within a week or two to receive his Highness's order to give me leave to come home. What I cannot consent to or obtain at present, I presume they will be contented to have referred to a future agreement, wherein there can be no prejudice (in my humble opinion) to your affairs.

"I ask your pardon for my tedious informations, wherein

I take no pleasure ; but supposing the business to require it, I presume you will excuse

“ Your very affectionate friend to serve you,

“ B. WHITELOCKE.

“ *Upsal, 24th March, 1653.*”

Most of the night was spent by Whitelocke in making his despatches for England ; neither did he neglect any one friend from whom he had received the favour and kindness of their letters to him here ; by which civility he obtained the more advice and intelligence from England, and made good use of it in this Court. His constant letters from his wife and other private friends he also found of much comfort and advantage to him.

March 25, 1654.

New Year's
Day, Old
Style.

This day, by the Swedish computation as well as that of England, is the first day of the year 1654.

Mr. Bloome came to Whitelocke with a compliment from the Chancellor, that he was sorry he could not visit Whitelocke before his going out of town, because he was ill, and retired himself into the country, to be quit from business and to recover his health ; and at his return he would come to Whitelocke and confer with him.

This gentleman Whitelocke apprehended to be often sent to him as a spy, to inquire of his intentions, and therefore he thought good to make use of him by telling such things to him as Whitelocke thought and wished might be again reported by Bloome unto the Chancellor. Therefore, among other discourses, Whitelocke told Bloome that France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Holland, Switzerland, Den-

mark, and other princes and states, had sent their public ministers to the Protector, desiring friendship with him; but his Highness having sent his Ambassador into this kingdom, they had testified so little respect to him, that in three or four months' time they had not vouchsafed to give him an answer to his proposals.

Mr. Symonds, an Englishman, excellent in his art of graving and taking off pictures in little, in wax, for which he had regard in this Court and promises of money, this person often frequented Whitelocke, his countryman, and his house, and after some time made a request to Whitelocke to speak to the Queen in his favour. Whitelocke, knowing that ambassadors' offices ought not to be cheap, told Symonds in a kind of drollery that surely he could not expect such a courtesy from him, since, being an Englishman, he had not acquainted the English Ambassador with any matter of consequence, nor done any service to his country, since Whitelocke's arrival here; that when he should deserve it, Whitelocke would be ready to do him service.

March 26, 1654.

The Lord's Day.—Divers English and Scots came to the public duties of the day in Whitelocke's house; and amongst other discourse Whitelocke learnt from them that Waters, one of his trumpets, going late in the evening to his lodging, was set upon by some drunkards with their swords, and wounded, whereof he continued very ill. Whitelocke examined and re-proved some of his company for disorders committed by them on the Lord's Day and other days, which he

Whitelocke
reproves
the English
for disorder
on the
Lord's Day.

told them he would not bear ; and it was the worse in their commitment of those crimes, and the less reason for them to expect a connivance thereat, because Whitelocke had so often and so publicly inveighed against the profanation of that day in this place ; but among a hundred some will be always found base, vicious, and wicked.

March 27, 1654.

Festivities
of Easter
Monday.

This being Easter Monday, some of Whitelocke's people went to the castle to hear the Queen's music in her chapel, which they reported to Whitelocke to be very curious ; and that in the afternoon was appointed an ancient solemnity of running at the ring. Some Italians of the Queen's music dined with Whitelocke, and afterwards sang to him and presented him with a book of their songs, which, according to expectation, was not unrewarded.

Whitelocke went not abroad this festival-time to visit anybody, nor did any grandees come to visit him ; he had an imagination that they might be forbidden to do it, the rather because Piementelle and Woolfeldt, who were accustomed to come often to him, had of late refrained to do it, and had not answered Whitelocke's last visit in ten days. The Queen had also excused her not admitting Whitelocke to have audiences, by saying she was busy or sick, when, at the same time, Piementelle and others were admitted to her presence, and for two or three hours together discoursed with her. This was resented and spoken of by Whitelocke so as it might come to the Queen's ear.

March 28, 1654.

After the master of the ceremonies had dined with Whitelocke, and was in a good humour, he desired Whitelocke to withdraw from the rest of the strangers, and that he might speak privately with him; and going into the bedchamber, the master told him that he had heard from some that Whitelocke had expressed a discontent, and the master desired to know if any had given him offence, or if there were anything wherein the master might do him service. Whitelocke said he apprehended some occasion of discontent in that he had attended here near four months, and had not yet obtained any answer to his proposals. The master excused the delay in regard of the Queen's purpose of quitting the Government. Whitelocke said he believed that occasioned much trouble to her Majesty, and which gave him cause to doubt that his frequent visits of her Majesty might give her some inconvenience. He replied that Whitelocke's company was very agreeable to the Queen, though at present she was overcharged with business.

The Swedes
desire to
defer the
treaty until
the new
reign.

Whitelocke. I do acknowledge the favours I have received from her Majesty, and your civilities to me, for which I shall not be ungrateful.

Mast. Cer. Would it not be of advantage to your business to attend for the conclusion of it until the coronation of our new King, to be assented to by him; by which means the alliance will be more firm than to have it done by the Queen so near her quitting of the Government?

Wh. I shall hardly stay so long a time as till the beginning of the reign of your new King, nor have I

any letters of credence or commission but to the Queen; and I believe that all acts done by her before her resignation will be held good, and particularly this touching the friendship with England, which, I suppose, will be also very agreeable to his Kingly Highness, and be inviolably observed by him.

Mast. Cer. I do not doubt but that the new King will observe the alliance which the Queen shall make with England, but perhaps it might better be made with the new King himself; and although you have no letters of credence to him, yet you may write into England and have them sent to you.

Wh. That will require more time than I have to stay in this place.. I believe the new King will not be crowned yet these two or three months; and it will be two months from this time before I can receive new credentials from England, and two or three months after that before I can return home; by which account I shall be abroad yet eight months longer, which will be till the next winter; and that would be too long a time for me to be absent from my family and affairs in England.

Mast. Cer. I shall speak with the Queen in this business, and shortly return to you.

It was imagined by Whitelocke that the master of the ceremonies was purposely sent to him to sound him touching the deferring of the treaty; and the like errand Mr. Bloome came to him about; and Whitelocke fully declared to them his distaste of any thought thereof, and the more at large and positively because he knew what he said would be reported to the full to her Majesty and to the Chancellor.

March 29, 1654.

The master of the ceremonies came to Whitelocke from the Queen to excuse Whitelocke's not having had audiences when he desired them ; which he said was because her Majesty had been so full of business, which had hindered her, and particularly because of the holidays ; but he said, if Whitelocke pleased to have his audience tomorrow, the Queen would be glad to see him. Whitelocke desired the master to return his thanks to her Majesty for her favours, and to let her know that he should be ready to attend her at such time as she should appoint. The master said he would acquaint her Majesty herewith, and so went away in the midst of dinner.

The Lord Douglas, a Scotsman, came to visit Whitelocke. He is an ancient servant to this Crown ; he was a page to King Gustavus Adolphus, and by him preferred to military command, wherein he quitted himself so well that he was promoted to be General of the Horse, and was now a Baron and Ricks-Stallmaster, or master of the horse, in Sweden. He excused himself that he had not oftener visited Whitelocke, being hindered by his sickness of an ague, which had held him thirty weeks, and had not yet left him. He said that the next day after his arrival here the Queen asked him if he had been to see the English Ambassador, and that Whitelocke was much obliged to the Queen for her good opinion of him : whereof Whitelocke said he had received many testimonies, and of her respects to the Protector and Commonwealth as well as to their servant. Douglas said, that besides her respect to the Protector, she had a particular

Lord
Douglas
visits
Whitelocke.

respect for Whitelocke ; with much discourse of that nature.

Further ex-
cuses for
delay.

He then went to visit his old comrade Colonel Potley, who was ill and kept his chamber. He fell upon the discourse that it would be convenient for Whitelocke to stay here till the coronation of the new King, that the treaty might be concluded by him : to which the same answers were given by Whitelocke as he had before given to the master of the ceremonies.

Whilst the Lord Douglas was in Whitelocke's house, Grave Eric came to Whitelocke by command of the Queen, to excuse the delay of his business, and that some of his audiences had been remitted. He said, her Majesty had been informed by the master of the ceremonies that Whitelocke should say he had demanded audiences three times, and could not obtain one. Whitelocke answered, that there was a little mistake therein, though there was something near it, and said, it was not his desire to occasion trouble to her Majesty. Eric answered, that the Queen desired Whitelocke would excuse her by reason of the holidays, during which time they did not use in this country to treat of any business, and that the Queen had likewise many other hindrances ; but that whensoever it should please Whitelocke to come to her Majesty, he would be very welcome. He said he was going out of town to his father to conduct him hither, and that within a day or two he would visit Whitelocke, and that his business would have a speedy despatch. Whitelocke wished him a good journey, and that he and his father might have a safe and speedy return hither.

Piementelle sent to Whitelocke to move the Queen to grant her pardon to a Swede who had killed

another, for which by the law he was to die; and Piementelle offered to second Whitelocke, if he would entreat the Queen for her pardon to the homicide. Whitelocke desired to be excused herein, alleging that he, being a public minister, it was not proper for him nor for Piementelle to interpose with her Majesty in a matter of this nature, and particularly touching her own subjects, and in a matter of blood; but this denial Piementelle seemed to take ill, and to be more strange to Whitelocke afterwards.

The holidays being past, Piementelle had his audience appointed this day to take his leave of the Queen. Whitelocke sent his son James and some others of his gentlemen to be present at it, who reported to Whitelocke that Piementelle spake to the Queen in Spanish, and that she answered him in Swedish, which was interpreted by Grave Tott; that Piementelle observed very much ceremony, and when he made his public harangue to the Queen he grew very pale and trembled, which was strange for a man of his parts, and who had been so frequent in his conversation with her Majesty. But some said it was a high compliment, acted by the Spaniard to the life, to please the Queen, who took delight to be thought, by her majesty and presence, to put a dread and daunting upon foreigners; which in a truth she was noted often to do when public ministers had their audiences in solemnity with her Majesty.

March 30, 1654.

One of the Queen's lacqueys came to Whitelocke's house in dinner-time, to desire him, from the Queen,

An interview with the Queen.

to come to her at two o'clock. Whitelocke was a little sensible of the quality of the messenger, and therefore himself would not speak with him, but sent his answer by one of his servants, and accordingly waited on the Queen.

He was met at the guard-chamber by Grave Tott and divers of the Queen's servants, with more solemnity than ordinary, and presently brought to the Queen. After her excuse of his not having had audiences she fell into discourse of his business. Whitelocke presented to her a form of articles, according to his own observations upon those articles he had formerly given in, and upon those he received from Grave Eric. Thereupon the Queen said to him, "You will not consent to any one of my articles, but insist upon all your own." Whitelocke showed her wherein he had consented to divers of her articles, and for what reasons he could not agree to the rest. They had discourse upon the whole, to the same effect as hath been before remembered.

The Queen told Whitelocke, that if those articles should not be concluded, that nevertheless the amity between the two nations might be continued. Whitelocke answered, that it would be no great testimony of amity, nor proof of respect to the Protector and Commonwealth, to send back their servant after so long attendance, without effecting anything. The Queen said she would despatch his business within a few days, and, she hoped, to his contentment. Whitelocke told her it was in her Majesty's power to do it; that he could not stay until the change whereof people discoursed, and that he had her Majesty's promise for his despatch, which he knew she would not break.

Then the Queen fell into other discourses, and in particular of poetry ; which occasion Whitelocke took to show her a copy of Latin verses made by an English gentleman, a friend of Whitelocke's, and sent over to him hither, and which he had now about him, and knew that such diversions were pleasing to the Queen.*

* "*Ad Illustrissimum et Excellentissimum Dominum, Dominum Whitelocke, Legatum Angliæ Extraordinarium apud Serenissimam Sueciæ Reginam. Ode.*

"Vitloce, Martis deliciæ, decus
Gentis legatæ ; te sine, languidum
Mœret tribunal, et cubili
In viduo Themis ingemiscit.
Denso cientes agmine cursitant,
Et sempiternas te sine consuunt
Lites, neque hic discordiarum
Finis erit, nisi tu revertas.
Sed te nivosum per mare, per vias
Septentrionum, per juga montium,
Inhospitales per recessus
Duxit amor patriæ decorus.
Legatus oras jam Sueonum vides
Bruma sepultas ; mox quoque Galliam,
Hispaniam mox cum Britannia
Fœdere perpetuo ligabis.
Sic pacis author, sic pius arbiter
Gentes per omnes qua sonuit tuba
Dicere ; cancellariusque
Orbis eris simul universi.
Christina, dulcis nympha, diutiùs
Ne te moretur : qui merito clues
Prudens Ulysses, sperne doctæ
Popula deliciasque Circes.
Te casta tentum Penelope vocat,
Vocant amici, teque aliæ vocant
Legationes, te requirunt
Ardua multa domi forisque.
Custos Sigilli tu dirimes cito
Pugnæ forenses, bellaque principum
Legatus idem terminabis :
Tu (sera candida) claude fanum."

At his leisure hours, Whitelocke turned these verses into English, which ran thus :—

" To the most Illustrious and most Excellent Lord, the Lord Whitelocke, Ambassador Extraordinary to the Most Serene Queen of Sweden. An Ode.

Whitelocke, delight of Mars, the ornament
Of gownmen, from thy country being sent,
Tribunals languish ; Themis sad is led,
Sighing under her mourning widow's bed.
Without thee suitors in thick crowds do run,
Sowing perpetual strife, which once begun,
Till happy fate thee home again shall send,
Those sharp contentions will have no end.
But through the snowy seas and northern ways,
When the remoter sun made shortest days,
O'er tops of craggy mountains, paths untrod,
Where untamed creatures only make abode,
Thy love to thy dear country hath thee brought,
Ambassador from England. Thou hast sought
The Swedish confines buried in frost,
Straight wilt thou see the French and Spanish coast ;
And them fast bind to thy loved Britany
In a perpetual league of amity.
So wilt thou arbitrator be of Peace,
Her pious author ; thou wilt cause to cease
The sound of war, our ears it shall not pierce ;
Thou wilt be Chancellor of the universe.
Christina, that sweet nymph, no longer shall
Detain thee ; be thou careful not to fall,
Prudent Ulysses, under those delights
To which the learned Circe thee invites.
Thy chaste Penelope doth call thee slow ;
Thy friends call for thee home ; and they do know
New embassies, affairs abroad, at home,
Require thy service,—stay till thou dost come.
Thou, Keeper of the Seal, dost take away
Foreign contentions ; thou dost cause to stay
The wars of princes. Shut thou Janus' gate,
Ambassador of peace to every state."

The Queen was much delighted with these and other verses which Whitelocke showed her ; read them

over several times, and desired copies of them, which Whitelocke sent her; and in this good humour she wished Whitelocke to leave with her a copy of his articles as he had now revised them, and to come to her again the next day, when she would give him a further answer, and, she hoped, to his contentment.

Woolfeldt visited Whitelocke, and excused his long absence by reason of the holidays. He informed Whitelocke with much freedom, that it was against the interest of Spain that England and Sweden should be in alliance together, and that Whitelocke's negotiation had been hindered by the Spanish Resident here, more than by any other. Whereunto Whitelocke said little positively, but compared his words with the late carriage of Piementelle,—especially since Whitelocke did not so heartily entertain the Queen's motion (which probably Piementelle put her upon) to have the Spaniard included in the league with England and Sweden, which Whitelocke was not empowered to treat upon, and Whitelocke also remembered the deferring of his audiences lately desired.* But these things he was to keep to himself, and to court Woolfeldt, which he did, and Piementelle likewise, who came to visit Whitelocke whilst Woolfeldt was with him, and made the same excuse as he had done for his long absence. They had much general discourse, but nothing (as usually before) touching Whitelocke's business. Piementelle said he purposed to depart from Upsal within seven or eight days; that yes-

Spain suspected of intriguing against the treaty.

* [This change was probably the consequence of the negotiations then going on between Louis XIV. and Cromwell in London, which had excited the jealousy of the Spanish Court, as is stated by Thurlow in the next page.]

terday he had taken his leave of the Queen, and came in the next place to take his leave of Whitelocke, who gave him thanks for this honour, and said he was sorry for the departure of Piementelle, whereby he should have a very great loss in being deprived of the acceptable conversation of so honourable a friend.

Despatches
from Eng-
land com-
plaining of
delay.

Whitelocke received many letters from England ; in those from Thurloe he saith :—

“ I am sorry your last letters give us no greater hopes of that which we so much long for, to wit, your Excellence’s speedy return home ; it seeming by them that the treaty was not much advanced since your last before, notwithstanding the great care and diligence used by your Excellency for the promoting thereof, as also the great acceptance you have with the Queen and Court, as is acknowledged by other public ministers residing there. It is now more than probable they will expect the issue of the Dutch business before they will come to any conclusion ; as also to see what terms we are like to be upon with France, that so the Queen may manage her treaty with England accordingly, which I suppose she may not be long ignorant of. In the meantime his Highness thinks he is somewhat delayed on her part.”

Then Thurloe relates all the passages of the Dutch Ambassadors, and that, in effect, they had agreed to the articles ; of the endeavours of the French to have a league with the Protector, and no less of the Spaniard. And he writes at large the news of the Archduke, as also that of Scotland and Ireland, and confutes the rumour of a discontent in the army of the Protector.

In another letter from Thurloe of a later date, received by the same post, he saith thus :—

"His Highness understands by your Excellence's last letters, that the treaty with the Queen of Sweden will much depend upon the treaty with the Dutch here, and until the issue of that be known no great matter is to be expected from your negotiation: concerning which, it being very probable that before the next ordinary it will be seen what issue the Dutch treaty will be brought unto, his Highness will refer his further directions to you till then; leaving it to your Excellence to proceed upon the former instructions as you shall find it convenient, and for his service according as affairs now stand."

The clause in this letter, of referring further directions till after the issue of the Dutch treaty, was some trouble to Whitelocke's thoughts, fearing it might delay his return home; but he laid hold upon the latter part of this letter, whereby it is left to Whitelocke to proceed upon the former instructions as he should find it convenient and for his Highness's service; which, as it reposed a great trust in Whitelocke, so it gave him warrant to conclude his treaty, and obliged him to the more care to perform that trust which they had so fully put in him.

Mr. Bonnele representing to the Protector the losses which the Swedes suffered by the ships of England, the Protector caused an answer thereunto to be returned, the copy whereof was sent by Thurloe to Whitelocke, and was thus:—

Claim on
behalf of
the Swedish
ships in
England.

"Whereas Mr. Bonnele, Resident of the Queen of Sweden, hath, by a paper of the 4th of March, remonstrated to his Highness that several ships and goods belonging to the said Queen and her subjects are taken at sea by the ships of this State, and brought into these parts, contrary to the declaration of the Council of State, 1st April, 1653, whereby they did declare, that for preventing the present

obstruction of trade, all ships truly belonging to the Queen or her subjects, of Sweden, that should bring with them certificates from her said Majesty, or the chief magistrate of the place from whence they come, grounded upon the respective oaths of the magistrates and loaders that the said ship and lading do belong *bond fide* to the said Queen or her subjects, and to no stranger whatsoever, should and might freely pass without interruption or disturbance. His Highness hath commanded that it be returned in answer to the said Resident, that although the said declaration was to be in force for the space of three months, in which time a form of passport and certificates was to be thought of for preventing fraud and collusion, yet no provision of that nature having been yet agreed upon, and it being contrary to his intention that the goods and ships belonging to her said Majesty or subjects (with whom he desires to conserve all good correspondence) should in the meantime suffer inconvenience or prejudice by the ships of this State, hath renewed, as he doth hereby renew, the said declaration with respect to the present treaty now on foot between the two nations, wherein some course may be provided for preventing the said frauds.

“And to the end there may be the better effect of this declaration, his Highness hath given order to the Judges of the Admiralty that if any ships or goods be brought into these parts belonging to her Majesty or subjects, that the producing of certificates according to the said declaration, in open Court and upon oath made by them that do produce such certificates, that they are good and authentic, and obtained without fraud or deceit, that the Judges shall thereupon (there being no proof before them to the contrary) discharge the said ships or goods without further delay. Provided that such ships were not bound with contraband goods to the ports or harbours of any of the United Provinces.

“For the herring-buss, there having been proceedings thereupon in the Court of Admiralty, and a sentence of con-

demnation given against her as belonging to the enemies of this State, his Highness does not conceive that it can be expected from him to interpose in matters belonging to the decision of that Court; besides, the law having in the ordinary course provided a remedy, by way of appeal, in case of wrong or injustice done by that Court.

"For the goods of Mr. Alexander Cecconi, supposed to be taken by a ship belonging to this State, orders have been given by the Council concerning them, and some return made upon those orders; and the said Commissary may rest assured that speedy and effectual justice will be done in that particular.

"JO. THURLOE.

"*March 10th, 1653.*"

These orders of the Council Whitelocke caused to be translated into Latin, that he might communicate them as he saw occasion.

March 31, 1654.

Whitelocke despatched a great number of letters to his friends in England: in those to Secretary Thurloe he gave a full account of all transactions of his negotiations and passages here since his last letters. Reports to
England.

This day, though the post-day, Woolfeldt again visited Whitelocke, to his no little interruption in his despatches; yet from him Whitelocke learned many things in relation to Denmark, for the advantage of England, and Woolfeldt testified great affection and respect to the Protector and Commonwealth. He was also interrupted by his attendance upon the Queen, according to her appointment. The Chancellor came forth from her as Whitelocke went in, and he told Whitelocke that the Queen, hearing of his being without, had sent to desire him to come in to her.

Whitelocke read some of his news to the Queen, and the paper which the Protector had caused to be given to her Commissary Bonnele at London ; upon which Whitelocke took the boldness a little to paraphrase, and her Majesty was well pleased with it. They fell into discourse of the treaty, much to the same effect as formerly ; but Whitelocke staid the less time with her Majesty, because he presumed that the Chancellor and his son waited without to speak with her about his business. She promised Whitelocke to send him an answer of his business the next day, and that one of her ships should be ready at the Dollars (the mouth of the haven of Stockholm) to transport him to Lübeck when he should desire it ; which was acceptable to Whitelocke to think on, and he thanked her Majesty for it.

Thus was March passed over, full of trouble, yet nothing effected in his business.

APRIL.

—◆—
April 1, 1654.

In the morning, in the market-place, near Whitelocke's lodging, was an execution of one adjudged to die for a murder. The offender was brought into the midst of the market-place, which was open and spacious, and a great multitude of people spectators. The offender kneeled down upon the ground, a great deal of sand being laid under and about him to soak up his blood, and a linen cloth was bound about his eyes: he seemed not much terrified, but when the company sang a psalm, he sang with them, holding up his hands together, and his body upright, his doublet off. He prayed also with the company, but made no speech to them; nor did any other speak to the people. The executioner stood behind him, with a great naked sword in his hand and a linen apron before him, and while the offender was praying the headsman in an instant, at one back-blow, cut off his head, which fell down upon the sand; and some friends took it from the executioner, and carried it away with the body to be buried. Presently after this execution was past, two other offenders for smaller crimes were brought to the same place, to suffer the punishment of the law,

A capital
 execution
 in Sweden.

which they call running the gauntlet,—a usual punishment among soldiers.

Running
the gaunt-
let.

The people stood in length in the market-place about a hundred yards, leaving an open space or lane between them of about five yards' distance ; then the offender, being naked to the waist, was brought to one end of the lane or open place. The people had rods or switches of birch given to as many as would take them ; the offender was to run or go, as he pleased (and one of them walked but a Spanish pace), from one end of the lane of people to the other, twice or thrice forward and backward ; and all the way as he went, the people who had the switches lashed the offender as he passed by them, harder or softer, as they favoured him. These are the most usual ways of executions which they have for criminal offences, and they do not execute men by hanging, which they say is only fit for dogs ; but in cases of great robberies and murders sometimes they execute justice by breaking the offenders upon the wheel, and leave the quarters of the body upon it ; some whereof were in the way as Whitelocke passed in his journey by the great wilderness.

Vestiges of
the Scandi-
navian my-
thology.

In the afternoon Senator Schütt came to Whitelocke and invited him to take the air to see the town of old Upsal, about a mile off ; and being there, Schütt showed him three great mounts of earth, cast up by the hands of men, for monuments in memory of their ancient famous kings, whose seat had been here, and the place of their coronation. These mounts had been dedicated to three of their Pagan gods : the one to the god whom they call Teuo, who was Mars, and from him they have the name of the day of the week *Teuos-*

dag, which we call Tuesday, and the Germans *Tuisconsdag*, and the Latins *Dies Martis*; the second mount was dedicated to their god Woden, so they called Mercury, and from thence their day of the week is named *Wodensdag*, which we also call Wednesday, the Germans *Wodensdæg*, and the Latins *Dies Mercurii*; the third mount was dedicated to their goddess Freya, so they called Venus, and from thence comes the name of their *Friedsdag*, which we call Friday, the Germans *Frigdæg*, and the Latins *Dies Veneris*.

There were also other relics of decayed mounts, which Whitelocke guessed to have been dedicated to their other gods, from whom they gave the names of the other days of the week: as, to Thor, whom they called Jupiter, and from whence the day *Thoresdag*, which we call Thursday, the Germans say *Thorsdæg*, and the Latins *Dies Jovis*; another mount dedicated to their god Setorn, from whence they call *Setornsdag*, as we say Saturday, the Germans *Sæternsdæg*, and the Latins *Dies Saturni*; another mount dedicated to Sunnan, as they call the Sun, and from thence that day *Sunnandag*, as we say Sunday, the Germans *Sunnandæg*, and the Latins *Dies Solis*; the last mount dedicated to Monan, that is the Moon, and from thence the name of their *Monandag*, which we call Monday, the Germans *Monandæg*, and the Latins *Dies Lunæ*.

In discourse upon the way, Schütt informed Whitelocke of the matter of the embassy from the Great Duke of Muscovia to the Queen of Sweden, which was to acquaint her Majesty that the Great Duke had begun a war against the King of Poland, because in a letter of his to the Great Duke he had omitted one of his great titles,—a heinous offence, and held by the

The war
between
Muscovy
and Poland.

Great Duke a sufficient ground of war, and of his resolution to sacrifice the blood of his fellow-Christians to satisfy his wicked pride. Another ground of the war was because a certain Governor of a province in Poland, in a writing, had placed the name of the father of the Great Duke before the name of the present Great Duke; which was so great an indignity, that for the same the now Great Duke demanded of the King of Poland to have the head of that Governor sent to him, and that not being done, was another cause of the begun war. To this the Queen answered, that it did not appertain to her to give her opinion in a matter of this nature, whether she did approve or disapprove of what was done by the Great Duke, but she did presume that the King of Poland would therein give fitting satisfaction to the Great Duke; and that she did wish that there might be peace between these two Princes and all the Princes of Christendom. And with this answer the Envoys of the Great Duke returned as wise as they came.

Denmark
threatens
Hamburg.

Schütt also communicated unto Whitelocke an intelligence that the King of Denmark had levied some forces which he designed against Hamburg,—pretending injuries done to him by that city in relation to his pretensions of dominion there, which probably might occasion a war between Denmark and that free city, which had strength and riches and people and wisdom to defend themselves; and Schütt advised Whitelocke that if this should be so, that then he should take his voyage some other way, and that it would be a great disturbance and danger to him to go by Hamburg and those quarters, which would be infested with soldiers, and that then it would be his best way to re-

turn by Gothenburg ; but he did persuade Whitelocke by all means to salute the Prince of Sweden by the way of his return. Whitelocke said he thought it not probable that the King of Denmark would at this time engage in a war against Hamburg, and that his levying of soldiers might breed a jealousy in the Crown of Sweden ; that the certainty thereof could not be long undiscovered, and accordingly he should govern his own resolutions ; that it would be difficult for him to stay in his journey to salute the Prince, but he much desired and intended it before his departure.

April 2, 1654.

Although the Lord's Day, yet the English and Scots who were in the town, and not of Whitelocke's family, went abroad to take the air, and did not resort, as they used to do, to Whitelocke's house to the exercises of divine worship, which were duly performed in his private family ; and after those *sacra peracta*, Whitelocke retired himself to his private studies and meditations upon the word of truth. This day likewise the Queen went abroad to take the air, and passed through the town in her coach, attended by many gentlemen and others in her train, to the ill example of her people, and after the bad custom of this place.

April 3, 1654.

The Queen sent to Whitelocke to invite him to accompany her to take the air.

Whitelocke
takes the
air with
the Queen.

By the way Whitelocke visited Woolfeldt, who had much discourse with him about the English fleet then at sea. From him Whitelocke went to Court, and at

tended the Queen in her coach to take the air. They had not much discourse about his business, and he thought not fit to interrupt her Majesty's pleasures with serious discourses, but sought to delight her with matters of diversion and mirth. When they were come back to the castle, the Queen said to Whitelocke :—

Queen. Tomorrow my Chancellor will present you with the articles drawn up by him, with some alterations which I judge to be reasonable ; and that shall be my final resolution about them.

Wh. Hath your Majesty commanded any mention in those new articles concerning contraband goods ?

Qu. There is a specification of them.

Wh. Indeed, Madam, I can hardly consent to any alteration upon the subject of contraband goods, whilst the edict of the Hollanders is in force thereupon.

Qu. After you have considered these new articles, we will speak together again about them.

Then the Queen retired to her chamber, and Whitelocke being come home, the Secretary Canterstein came to him from the Chancellor to excuse his not coming to visit Whitelocke, and said that, by the Queen's command, the Chancellor had sent a new copy of articles to Whitelocke. He presently read them, and had much discourse with the secretary upon them, who said he did not doubt but that, after communication with the Chancellor, Whitelocke would receive satisfaction.

April 4, 1654.

Whitelocke visited Piementelle, and they had this discourse :—

Piementelle. The Ambassador of Denmark did me

the honour to visit me, and we had much discourse together about the English fleet now at sea ; he told me that in it were ten thousand foot soldiers embarked for the North, which would occasion great trouble to the King his master, if it should be so, which I acknowledged.

Whitelocke. Your Excellence knows that I have not been at the Council of State in England for six months last past, so that I know not the secret designs of my Lord Protector ; but I believe it is no very difficult matter to land men in Denmark.

Piem. What progress hath the French Ambassador made in the treaty between you and France ?

Wh. If the Queen will be pleased to give my despatch, I hope to be upon the place before the treaty with the French be concluded. I have somewhat to communicate to the Protector touching a treaty with Spain, which your Lordship very well knows ; and it would be to purpose that his Highness should know it before the conclusion of a treaty between England and France.*

Piem. I am assured that the Queen will despatch you in good time. But I advise your Excellence in your return not to pass by Denmark, for it is ill trusting of that King ; but your better way will be to Lübeck, and from thence to Hamburg, and if you do not find ships ready there, you may travel by land to Cologne, and from thence to Dunkirk ; which will be much better than to go by Holland, where they do exceedingly exact upon strangers, and your Commonwealth

* [An ingenious device of Whitelocke's to lead the Spaniard to hasten the business of the treaty with Sweden, which he was suspected of having retarded.]

hath more enemies there than in any other place, besides the common people are rude and insolent.

Wh. I am engaged to you for your good advice, which I intend to follow.

After their discourse, Whitelocke presented Piementelle his medal in gold very like him, and it was received by Piementelle with much affection. Then Piementelle entreated Whitelocke to give him a passport for his servant, who had the charge of conducting his baggage by sea to Dunkirk, that he might freely pass the men-of-war of England; the which was willingly done by Whitelocke, under his hand and seal.*

* The French and English copies of the passport were these :—

“Comme ainsi soit que Don Antonio Piementel de Prado, Envoyé Extraordinaire de sa Majesté le Roi d'Espagne à sa Majesté la Reine de Suède, soit maintenant sur son retour de ce lieu à Neufport en Flandres, dont son Excellence est Gouverneur; et qu'il ait jugé à propos d'envoyer partie de son train et bagage par mer de Hambourg à Dunquerque, ou public autre port des Provinces Unies à présent sous l'obéissance de sa dite Majesté le Roi d'Espagne; et pour leur procurer d'autant plus sur convoi, m'ait désiré, comme Ambassadeur Extraordinaire de son Altesse Monseigneur le Protecteur de la République d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse, et d'Irlande, vers sa Majesté la Reine de Suède, de lui donner passeport: ces présents sont pour requérir tous ceux qui ont commandement par mer ou par terre, et tous officiers et autres de la dite République auxquels il peut appartenir, de permettre le porteur des présents, Joos Froidure, serviteur du dit Don Antonio Piementel, avec son navire et biens sous sa charge (à savoir, vingt caisses contenant toutes sortes de meubles, comme vaisselle d'argent, tapisseries, linges, habits, lits de camp, et autres coffres et choses pareilles, et tout conduit par le susdit Joos Froidure, et les caisses marquées D. A. P.), de passer paisiblement et sans empêchement quelconque jusqu'au dit Dunquerque, ou autre port des Provinces Unies de présent sous l'obéissance de sa dite Majesté le Roi d'Espagne. Donné sous ma main et sceau, à Upsale en Suède, ce 4ème d'Avril, 1654. B. WHITELOCKE.”

“Whereas Don Antonio Pimentel de Prado, Envoy Extraordinary from his Majesty the King of Spain unto her Majesty the Queen of Sweden, is now upon his return from this place unto Newport, in

April 5, 1654.

In the morning Whitelocke went to the Chancellor's lodging, and found his son Grave Eric with him. The Chancellor made a long apology to excuse the delay of the treaty, and said :—

Conference
with the
Chancellor.

Chancellor. My indisposition of health hath chiefly occasioned the delay, yet was I so solicitous of your business, that I entreated the Queen to appoint some other person in my stead, who might confer with your Excellence; and her Majesty was pleased to appoint my son for that service.

Whitelocke. I was very sorry for your Excellence's want of health, both in regard of my affection to your person, and in respect of the protraction of my business; yet I was glad that your son, my Lord Eric, was appointed to confer with me, and had rather have the transaction of my business by yourself or some of

Flanders, whereof his Excellence is Governor, and hath thought fit to send part of his train and goods from Hamburg by sea unto Dunkirk, or some other port now in obedience to his said Majesty the King of Spain, in the Low Countries; and, for the better conveyance of them, hath desired a pass from me, being Ambassador Extraordinary from his Highness my Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, unto her said Majesty the Queen of Sweden; these are therefore to desire all commanders by sea or land, and all officers or others, of the said Commonwealth, whom it may concern, to permit the bearer hereof, Joos Froidure, servant unto the said Don Antonio Pimentel, with the ship and goods under his charge, viz. twenty chests or packages, containing all sorts of household stuff, as vessels of silver, tapestries, linen, apparel, field-beds, and other coffers and such like things, marked with D. A. P., to pass unto the said port of Dunkirk, or any other port now in obedience unto his said Majesty the King of Spain in the Low Countries, quietly and without any molestation. Given under my hand and seal, at Upsal, in Sweden, this 4th day of April, 1654. B. WHITELOCKE."

your family than by any other. I am now come to you to confer upon those articles which yesterday I received from you.

Then Whitelocke gave the Chancellor a paper of his animadversions upon his articles. The debate began upon the ninth article; and as to the sale of goods taken from enemies and prohibiting the buying of arms, the Chancellor said this would abolish their trade, and would be of no advantage to England, because those arms, and equally as good, might be had from other places; and if the English did light upon them, they would have the benefit by it. Whitelocke said it would be a great inconvenience to furnish the enemies of either nation with arms which could not be had elsewhere than in England or Sweden, and that this clause would put a bridle in the mouths of the enemies of either nation. The Chancellor and his son replied that arms might be had in the province of Liége,* and in many other places in Germany; that Sweden scarce afforded any other commodities but arms, or such things as were serviceable for war; and that the Queen would by no means be induced to that clause as Whitelocke would have it.

Then they debated upon the eleventh article, the issue whereof was for Whitelocke to consent to a special designation of prohibited goods. Whitelocke desired that the catalogue and designation of them might be referred to his return into England, and he would agree that within two months after that there should

* [It is curious to remark at the present time (1855) how the same questions have arisen out of the state of war. The list of contraband articles established by Whitelocke's treaty is still in force as between England and Sweden, and Liége is still the great resource of the Continent for arms.]

be a specification of prohibited goods in the name of the Protector.

The Chancellor urged that the specification might be now agreed upon, and produced a paper specifying them, which they alleged was delivered by the Council in England unto Bonnele. Whitelocke said he did not remember the same, and that he was ignorant what goods were prohibited by the Dutch placard, which was fit to be known before any specification made by him.

Upon the twelfth article Whitelocke urged, that as to the form of the letters of safe-conduct, it might also be referred to his return into England. They produced a form exhibited by Lagerfeldt to the Council in England, and desired that the same form might be now agreed upon. Whitelocke answered that the Council of State had not approved the form given in by Lagerfeldt, and therefore it was not fit for him to consent to it; nor could he apprehend any reason why they should not consent to refer the agreement of a form unto his return to England; and the rather, because in the meantime the subjects of the Queen might enjoy the benefit of an edict made by the Protector in great favour of them, which declaration Whitelocke had caused to be delivered to the Chancellor.

To the thirteenth article, as to satisfaction of damages, their debate was to the like effect as formerly.

Upon the sixteenth article they had also debate. Whitelocke desired that the words "de usu littorum in piscatione" might be altered to these words, "de piscatione et usu littorum." They alleged that this would seem to deny their fishing upon their own

coasts. Whitelocke said, the other would seem as if England had given up their right as to the fishing, and left all at liberty to those that pleased to take it.

This was the sum of the debate of near three hours. The conclusion was that they would certify the Queen of all these matters, and in short acquaint Whitelocke with her answer; which he desired might be as speedy and positive as they pleased, because if they should reduce him to that necessity, that before he could agree he must send to the Protector to know his pleasure, he could not receive an answer of his letters in less than two months' space, within which time the Queen purposed to resign her government, and then his commission would be at an end. The Chancellor said he desired Whitelocke should be speedily in England, not only for the sake of his wife and children, but likewise because then they could promise themselves that they had a good friend in England.

Alarm
excited by
the English
fleet.

Whitelocke visited the French Resident, who was very inquisitive what might be the design of the English fleet now at sea; whereunto, as to much other of his discourse, Whitelocke did not much study for answers, only he was careful not to let fall any words which might lessen their amusement about the fleet.*

In the evening Woolfeldt visited Whitelocke and discoursed of the same matter; whereof Whitelocke made some use and of this gentleman, to heighten their jealousies about this fleet. Woolfeldt acquainted Whitelocke that the Ambassador of Denmark had made

* [Cromwell was already preparing the two armaments at Portsmouth, one of which afterwards became the Mediterranean fleet, under Blake, of thirty-five ships, and the other, of thirty-two ships, sailed in the following year under Penn and Venables for the West Indies.]

a complaint against him to the Queen, that Woolfeldt had deceived the late King of Denmark of certain sums of money, which he should have disbursed for the late King of England against the Parliament; and that the present King of Denmark having been informed that Woolfeldt had lost his papers at sea, and so could not produce his acquittances, the King took the advantage thereof against Woolfeldt, and now, by his Ambassador, charged him before the Queen for those moneys: but that he disappointed the Danish Ambassador by producing before the Queen his papers and acquittances, which his enemies believed had had been lost; and so was justified before the Queen, to the great discontent of the Ambassador. Whitelocke said he was very glad that Woolfeldt came so well off, and that he perceived the Queen had, by the treaty, a capacity, as well as by his residence, to examine and do right in such matters.

This day Whitelocke had discourse about Norway and the Sound with a Danish gentleman of great quality and experience whom he had obliged, who desired to have his name concealed;* but part of this discourse follows:—

Conversa-
tion of a
Danish gen-
tleman who
betrays his
country.

Dane. Now is a good time for the Protector to send some ships towards these parts.

Whitelocke. What places are there in Norway considerable as to the interest of England?

* [This gentleman is doubtless the same M. Woolfeldt whom Whitelocke frequently refers to; for in a manuscript addressed to his children, Woolfeldt is mentioned by name as a person entertaining similar sentiments towards his native country. He was a Danish nobleman nearly connected by marriage with the King of Denmark, but who had incurred the displeasure of the Court, and been driven into exile on account of this marriage.]

Dane. There are two places in Norway not far from Gothenburg which are easy to be taken, and are excellent harbours, wherein England might keep some ships constantly, and command all that pass by to the Baltic Sea.

Wh. What are the names of those places?

Dane. The one of those havens is called Marstrang; but that I do not like so well because of the Pater-noster Rocks, which are very dangerous for coming out if the wind sit northerly, and the fort there is commanded by the hills near it. But the other place, called Flecker Town, is an island, and hath a going-in and coming-out two ways; it is an excellent harbour, and ships may ride in it at such a distance from the land (being a broad water) that none from the land can hurt them. There is a little fort in this island which may easily be taken, not having above forty or fifty men in it, and the works decayed. Those who assail it must land their men on the south-east side of the island, the fort being on the other side, and they may easily be masters of it; and from thence having some ships, they may go in and out at their pleasure, and command all passing by; and none can come into the harbour to them if they make up the fort, which is soon done, and the passage not above musket-shot to be commanded, and there are no guns there of any consideration at this time.

Wh. How shall they do for victuals there to get fresh from the land?

Dane. There is plenty of butter and cheese, sheep and hogs; and the poor country people will be no trouble to you, but be willing to be commanded by you.

Wh. What towns are there near it?

Dane. Higher in the country is Bergen, the chief town for trade there, and rich enough. Your ships may easily come into that harbour, and plunder the town and get a great booty, and return to Fleckeren Town again.

Wh. Is there anything to be done at Iceland?

Dane. I wonder you do not send, in August or September, four or five ships to Iceland, being men-of-war. They may have twenty or thirty Dutch ships, laden with fish, butter, and hides, which will make no resistance at all; and it would be a rich prize, and might be had without danger or difficulty.

Wh. Is the castle of Elsinore so strong a piece that it cannot be taken without much expense and danger?

Dane. This will not be the best design for England: it is a small, strong castle, and doth not signify much; though it be esteemed a piece of importance, it is not so.

Wh. It commands the passage of the Sound.

Dane. Most men believe so, but it is mistaken. I have seen an experiment to the contrary, that a boat, being placed in the middle of that narrow passage of the Sound, they shot at it from the castle of Elsinore, and likewise from the castle of Helsingborg on the other side, with the greatest guns they had, and yet they could not reach the boat from either side by two thousand paces; nor is it so narrow in the passage but that a ship may, when she pleaseth, sail by those castles in despite of them.

Wh. What harbour is there at Elsinore?

Dane. There is no harbour for ships to ride in, and in foul weather they will be in danger to be all lost,

because they must ride in the open sea, which there is extreme perilous ; and therefore Elsinore is not worth the keeping, if England had it. But their best design would be to go directly to the town of Copenhagen with fifty or sixty good ships, with landsmen in them ; and it is easy enough to take that town, for the works of it are not strong, nor is it well guarded, and it would be easier to take that town than Elsinore ; and if England were masters of it, the castle would quickly come in to them ; and at the town they should have a good haven for their ships, and a small matter would build a better fort near the town than Elsinore is, and would command the passage more than the castles do, and make you masters of the Sound and of all the trade of the Baltic Sea.

Wh. What revenue would be gained thereby ?

Dane. More than will maintain your ships and forces there, and will command all the island of Zealand.

Wh. I should be glad to meet you there.

Dane. If you summon me by your letters, I will give you a meeting at Copenhagen, or those whom the Protector will send thither ; and if you will meet me there, I doubt not but to show you a way to get that town without much difficulty ; and then you will have all the isle of Zealand, which is the best part of Denmark, and the rest will follow, being weary of the present tyranny and ill-usage of their King. And if you were masters of Zealand, you might thereby keep in awe the Swede, the Hollander, and all the world that have occasion for the commodities of the Baltic Sea.

Wh. Why then doth not the King of Denmark now keep them in such awe ?

Dane. Because he hath neither the money nor ships nor men that England hath.

Wh. What is the ground and reason of payment of the tolls at Elsinore, if ships may pass by without the leave of the castles there?

Dane. Because that is known but to a very few; and what I have told you is under secrecy, and I desire that none but the Protector may know it from you; and as for the grounds of paying the tolls at Elsinore, it is rather from the keeping of the lights in Jutland and upon that coast, than from any command that Elsinore hath of the ships that go that way.

Wh. I have heard those lights are very useful.

Dane. Unless they were kept, it would be impossible for ships to sail there in the long nights in winter; and the trade doth enforce them to come that way in October and November, when the nights are very long, because of bringing wine into those parts after the vintage, which is in September.

Wh. They are likewise to carry home corn, which is not inned till August and September. Did not the Hollanders refuse to pay the toll?

Dane. Once they did, and thereupon the last King of Denmark, by advice, commanded that the lights upon the coast should not be kept; and the Hollanders in that autumn lost above thirty ships upon the Danish coast, and came and entreated the King that the lights might be kept again, and promised to pay the tolls as formerly, and have done so ever since.

Wh. Let me say to you, in freedom, how can you, being a native of Denmark, satisfy yourself to discover these things to me, whereby prejudice may come to your country?

Dane. I do not think I betray my country in this, though, my country having left me to be an exile, I

might justly leave them ; and wheresoever I breathe and am maintained is more my country than that where I was born, and which will not let me breathe there ; yet in this I think I may do good service to Denmark, to free them from the tyranny they are under, and to bring them into the free government of the Protector, to whom I shall do any service in my power. But for the King of Denmark, he is governed by his Queen and a few of her party, men of no honour nor wisdom nor experience in public affairs, but proud and haughty, according to the way of these parts of the world.

W^h. I shall not fail to make known to the Protector your great affections to him.

April 6, 1654.

Effects of
the English
fleet in the
North.

Monsieur Miller, who had been Resident at Hamburg for her Majesty, came to visit Whitelocke, and after dinner discoursed much of the English fleet now at sea, which, he said, did amuse all the northern parts of the world, what the design thereof might be. Whitelocke did not lessen the wonder, especially in relation to Denmark ; yet affirmed nothing positively, as indeed he could not. He inquired of Monsieur Miller if the King of Denmark were making any preparations at sea, or of land forces, or had any design towards Hamburg. Miller said he knew of none, and in his discourse gave Whitelocke good information of the government, strength, and trade of that Hanse Town.

The Secretary Canterstein came to Whitelocke from the Chancellor, and brought to him the articles upon

which they had last treated, now altered according to Whitelocke's desire, except that which concerned the forbidding of our enemies to buy arms in the countries of our confederates. He also delivered to Whitelocke the draft of a preamble for the articles, and another article for the ratifying of all the rest; whereunto Whitelocke consented, and thanked God that his business was brought so near to a good conclusion.

Whitelocke received his packet from England, and Thurloe wrote that the Protector was sensible of the Queen's delaying of Whitelocke, but approved his proceedings. He sent this enclosed order:—

“AT THE COUNCIL CHAMBER, WHITEHALL:

“*Friday, 17 Martii, 1653.*

“On consideration of a letter, this day read in Council, sent from the Lord Ambassador Extraordinary with her Majesty of Sweden, mentioning, among other things, the taking of the ship ‘Charity,’ Paul Paulsen, master, by a private man-of-war, and the carrying of her into Dover, and the hard usage of the master and mariners, which ship is claimed by some citizens of Gothenburg, subjects of the said Queen:

Order in
Council in
the matter
of a Swe-
dish prize.

“*Ordered,* That it be referred to the Commissioners of the Admiralty speedily to put this matter in a way of examination; and, for their information in the premises, to send for the commander of the said man-of-war, and to receive a particular account and satisfaction concerning the disposal of the ship and goods, and the usage of the master and mariners, and thereupon to state the whole case and report it to the Council, to the intent speedy justice may be done therein; and the said Commissioners are likewise to take order that all further proceedings touching the said ship, or her lading or disposal of any part thereof, be stayed and forborne till their report made

and further order thereupon shall be given by the Council.

“ W. JESSOP, Clerk of the Council.”

Thurloe wrote that in case the information given to Whitelocke were found to be true, that the parties offending would be severely punished and right done to those who were injured ; and that the Council were very sensible hereof, as a hindrance to Whitelocke's proceedings and a dishonour to the Protector. He also wrote unto Whitelocke that there was little scruple now of an agreement upon the Dutch treaty, which was as good as concluded ; and he sent the news of France and of Scotland and Ireland, as well as that of England, as he constantly used to do. Whitelocke caused this order to be translated into Latin, and made use of it for the advantage of his business.

A description was given to Whitelocke, in writing, of the manner of making gunpowder in these parts, and of their mills and vessels for it, not unlike in many things to their way in England.

April 7, 1654.

The
Queen's
plans after
abdication.

Whitelocke waited on the Queen, and she was pleased to discourse with him to this effect :—

Queen. I am resolved to retire into Pomerland, and this summer to go to the Spa to drink the waters for my health.

Whitelocke. Give me leave, Madam, to put you in mind of two things to be specially taken care of : one is the security of your own person, the other is the settling of your revenue. Your Majesty, being of a royal and bountiful spirit, cannot look into such mat-

ters so much beneath you as expenses or accounts ; and if care be not taken therein, and good officers, your Majesty may be disappointed and deceived.

Qu. I thank you for this counsel. I intend to have Mr. Flemming with me, to take charge of my revenue ; he is a discreet, wise man, and fit for that employment, and to order the expenses of my house ; I believe he will neither deceive me himself nor permit others to do it, for he is faithful to me.

Wh. Such a servant is a jewel. I hope care is taken that your Majesty's revenue be secured in such a manner that you shall not depend upon the pleasure of any other for the receipt of it, but to be in your power as mistress of it, not as a pensioner.

Qu. It shall be settled according to the advice you gave me, and I thank you for it.

Wh. Madam, I account it a happiness if in anything I may be serviceable to your Majesty. Whom doth your Majesty take with you beside Mr. Flemming of that quality ?

Qu. I desire the company of Mr. Woolfeldt and his lady, if they will go with me.

Wh. I suppose they will be very serviceable to your Majesty ; and I hope it will not be long, after the business here effected, before you transport yourself into Pomerland, lest any designs should be against your liberty, for, Madam, in this age there be few persons to be trusted.

Qu. That is too great a truth, and I thank you for the caution. I could freely trust yourself with any of my concernments ; and if you will come to me into Pomerland, you shall be as welcome as any man living, and we will be merry together.

Wh. I humbly thank your Majesty for your great favour to your servant, who hath a wife and children enough to people a province in Pomerland, and I shall bring them all thither to do your Majesty service.

Qu. If you will bring your lady and all your children and family thither, and settle yourself there, you shall want nothing in my power, and shall be very welcome to me.

Wh. I am your Majesty's most humble servant ; and I pray, Madam, give me leave to ask your Majesty, whether you judge it requisite for me to wait on the Prince of Sweden before my going out of this country.

Qu. I think it very fit and necessary for you to see the Prince before you leave this country ; it will be taken as a respect from the Protector to him, and if you do not, it will be looked upon as a neglect of him.

Wh. I am obliged to do all that lies in my power to enlarge the Protector's interest.

Qu. The Prince being to succeed in the Crown, and in so short a time, it will be fit to keep a fair correspondence with him and to show respect to him, whereof your visit will be a good testimony.

Wh. Madam, your opinion will be a great direction to me in my affairs.

Qu. I think it will be an advantage to your business for you to speak with the Prince himself, who will take it in good part, and hold himself the more obliged to the observance of what shall be agreed upon in your present treaty, being acquainted therewith by you that made it.

Wh. I hope the treaty which your Majesty shall make will be observed by any who shall succeed you ;

but I acknowledge it is very advisable for me to have some discourse with his Royal Highness, to give him an account of the treaty, and I shall inquire where I may attend him.

Qu. You must go from hence to Stockholm, and so to Nordköping, and the castle where the Prince now resides is within a league of that town; you may have my coaches and horses to transport you, and my servants to guide you thither.

Wh. I humbly desire your Majesty to make choice of any of my coach-horses or saddle-horses that may be useful for you, and to command them; they are all at your Majesty's service.

Qu. I shall not make choice of any; but if you bestow any of them upon me, they will be very acceptable.

Wh. I humbly acknowledge your Majesty's great favour in affording a despatch to my business.

Qu. I wish you with the Protector, because I see you are a faithful servant to him, and worthy to serve any prince in Christendom.

Wh. Your Majesty ever had a favour for me, and in nothing more than in my despatch.

Qu. I think it not fit for you to be in Sweden too near the time of the coronation of the new King; and then to go away, and not to see him, would be worse.

Wh. I do intend, upon your Majesty's advice, to salute him before my going away, and shall desire that the ships may meet me near the place where his Royal Highness is.

Qu. I will give order for it, and will be gone myself not long after; if I had staid here I should have been glad of your longer stay.

Whitelocke took his leave of the Queen, and, being returned home, Field-Marshal Wrangel visited him, and after dinner, being in a good humour, discoursed freely and much of the English fleet at sea. Whitelocke showed him a draught of the ship 'Sovereign,' with her dimensions, guns, and men, wherewith he was much pleased. He told Whitelocke that, by command of the Queen, he had prepared ships for Whitelocke's transportation from Stockholm to Lübeck.

Whitelocke
reports on
the treaty
to Thurloe.

Whitelocke made his despatches for England, and in his letters to Thurloe gave this account of the treaty :—

"1. Their first article differs not in substance from the first which I proposed, and therefore I did not object against it; but as to all of them, I reserved a liberty to myself of further consideration and objection. I did a little stick upon the word 'colonias' in this article, lest it might tend to anything of commerce in America; but finding it only to relate to the amity, I passed it over.

"2. The first part of it agrees in substance with my sixth article, the latter part of it with my fourth article; only I objected against their words in this article, 'in damnum illius,' who should be judge thereof, and the omission of that part of my fourth article against harbouring of enemies and rebels.

"3. Their third article agrees in substance with my second article, but is more general, not naming the Sound, and explaining the word 'aliorum' in my second article; and I desired that the word 'populos' might be added after the word 'subditos.'

"4. Their fourth in the beginning agrees with my third article; that of it touching the trade of America and the fishing I answered, as I gave you a former account, and thereupon denied it, as also that part of it which concerns importation of goods in foreign bottoms, being contrary to

our Act of Parliament. In this latter end of their fourth article they likewise bring in again the business of fishing implicitly in the words '*maribus, littoribus,*' etc., and therefore I desired that all that part might be left out, and in lieu thereof I offered the latter part of my third article beginning with the words '*solutis tamen,*' etc., and the last of my reserved articles to be admitted; or else, I desired that this whole article of theirs might be omitted, and in lieu thereof my third article, and the last of my reserved articles to be admitted; and they likewise insist to have these words added if that part of their fourth article be omitted, viz. '*quoad Americæ commercium, piscationem halecum, et mercium importationem, de his in posterum erit conventum.*'

"5. Their fifth article agrees in substance with my eleventh, only hath more words to express the same matter.

"6. Their sixth agrees in substance with my thirteenth article, with the addition of words for kind usage, and the omission of the proviso in my thirteenth article as to breaking of bulk; which yet seems to be supplied by the latter part of their sixth article, of conforming to the ordinances of the place.

"7. Agrees with my reserved article, marked with fifteen, only the words '*nihil inde juris*' I thought fit to be omitted, because in the treaty we are not to meddle with particular rights; yet the sense and desire thereof is answered in the words for restitution. I offered them, if they liked not this, my fifteenth article, which is one of those reserved, omitting only that part as not conducing to this article, viz. '*Et si lis,*' etc.

"8. Agrees in substance with my twelfth article, only the expressions here are longer; and that for justice to be had agrees with the latter part of my reserved article fifteenth.

"9. In the general differs not in the substance from my seventh, and the beginning of my reserved articles; and the laws in this ninth article, first, second, third, and

fourth, are not contrary to the substance of mine; but to the fifth I excepted, as contrary to part of my seventh article, and to their sixth law, as to bringing in of ships and goods from enemies; both which nevertheless, in case we have peace with the Dutch, will be more to our advantage, in my humble opinion, to continue in than to be omitted; as also that not to contend in the harbours; and so the first, second, third, and fourth laws. The seventh law, I humbly conceive, not differing in substance from my articles, nor disadvantageous to England. To their sixth law I desired that my seventh article might be added, the which they denied, as to forbid enemies to either to buy arms, etc.

"10. Agrees in part with my ninth, only the latter part of it seems to bring in the trade of America, and a liberty contrary to the Act of Navigation; but they insist that the same is saved by the latter words of this article, '*modò consuetudines antiquæ*;' but I was not satisfied herewith, and desired that that part of it which is marked might be omitted, and the latter part of my ninth article, viz. '*utrisque utrinque observantibus*,' etc. inserted, which I humbly conceive will help it; or else I desire that this tenth article may be wholly omitted, and in lieu thereof my ninth may be agreed.

"11. To this article of theirs I wholly excepted, because it agrees not with any of mine, nor with reason, that when our enemies have forbidden any to bring contraband goods to us, that yet we should permit them to be brought unto our enemies. They told me that the Queen had sent unto the States to repeal that placard of theirs. I answered, that when I was certified that that placard was repealed, I would then desire to know the Protector's further pleasure herein; but before that be done, I thought it would be in vain to trouble him about it.

"12. Is not expressly in any of my articles, but agreed by the Council of State unto Mr. Lagerfeldt, only the form of the letters of safe-conduct not fully assented unto;

therefore I desired that the same might be remitted to a future agreement ; but as to the rest of this article, it is not repugnant to the substance of mine, that the navigation and commerce may be free.

“ 13. In the first part of it agrees almost *verbatim* with my tenth article ; the latter part of it, concerning satisfaction for losses, is much altered from what it was at first exhibited, and is now put on both parties, and referred to future agreement, wherein there can be no prejudice to our Commonwealth ; but before, it was reproachful to the justice thereof and laid on our part only ; now it is no more than what the Council and State promised in their papers to Mr. Lagerfeldt.

“ 14. Agrees in substance with my ninth article.

“ 15. Contains the substance of my fifth article, but is expressed more generally, and, as I humbly believe, no less to the advantage of our Commonwealth.

“ I found more readiness in the Queen to consent to what I proposed than in her Commissioners ; but some things she told me she could not consent to, because they were against the interest of her people, and were not considerable to England. I gave her thanks for my despatch. She said she had an ambition to have the honour of making an alliance with the Protector herself before she quitted the Government, and that she might testify her respects to him, and therefore had gone as far as possibly she could ; and indeed there is now very little difference, but only in words and expressions, from the sense and substance of what I first proposed. And I presume that what is here agreed by me will give good satisfaction and contentment to the Protector and Council, and I apprehend it clearly within my instructions ; acknowledging the goodness of God to me in this business, where I met with so many difficulties, and of so great weight, that yet in a fortnight's time it should be brought to a full conclusion, with honour and advantage to the Protector and present Government, for which I have taken all care.

"The articles are not yet drawn up, but I hope we shall sign them the next week, and presently after I intend to demand audience to take my leave and to remove from hence, and, as soon as I can, to come to Lübeck, and from thence to Hamburg; and I have by this post humbly desired my Lord Protector to appoint some of his ships to meet me at Hamburg as soon as they can, for my transportation from thence to England. And I humbly entreat your favour to put his Highness in mind of it, and that you will take care that the orders may be had, and the ships to come as soon as may be to the Elbe, to Hamburg, where I shall stay for them, or till I receive his Highness's further commands; and I choose this way as the shortest, and where I shall meet with any despatches that may come from England. I presume you will be troubled with an importunate suitor for hastening my return.

"I received your letters of the 17th March, and the order of the Council concerning the Swedish ship, for which I return my humble thanks. The Queen, and the Chancellor and others here, were much satisfied with it. The Chancellor and his son have been very civil to me, and lately furthering my despatch. I hope the same goodness of God which hath hitherto brought me through this great business will give me a safe return to my dear country and friends, where I may have opportunity with thankfulness to acknowledge your constant favour and kindness to

"Your affectionate friend to serve you,

"B. W.

"*Upsal, April 7th, 1654.*"

April 8, 1654.

A masque
at Court.

The master of the ceremonies came to Whitelocke from the Queen, to desire his company this evening at a masque; and they had this discourse:—

Whitelocke. Present my thanks to her Majesty, and tell her I will wait upon her.

Mast. Cer. What would your Excellence expect in matter of precedence, as in case you should meet with any other ambassador at the masque? Precedence claimed by Denmark.

Wh. I shall expect that which belongs to me as Ambassador from the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and I know no other ambassador now in this Court besides myself, except the Ambassador of the King of Denmark, who, I suppose, hath no thoughts of precedence before the English Ambassador, who is resolved not to give it him if he should expect it.

Mast. Cer. Perhaps it may be insisted on, that he of Denmark is an ambassador of an anointed king, and you are only ambassador to the Protector—a new name, and not *sacré*.

Wh. Whosoever shall insist on that distinction will be mistaken, and I understand no difference of power between king and protector, or anointed or not anointed; and ambassadors are the same public ministers to a protector or commonwealth as to a prince or sultan.

Mast. Cer. There hath always been a difference observed between the public ministers of kings and of commonwealths, or princes of inferior titles.

Wh. The title of Protector, as to a sovereign title, hath not yet been determined in the world as to superiority or inferiority to other titles; but I am sure that the nation of England hath ever been determined superior to that of Denmark. I represent the nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Protector, who is chief of them; and the honour of these nations ought to be in the same consideration now as it hath been formerly, and I must not suffer

any diminution of that honour by my person to please any whatsoever.

Mast. Cer. I shall propose an expedient to you, that you may take your places as you come : he who comes first, the first place, and he who comes last, the lower place.

Wh. I shall hardly take a place below the Danish Ambassador, though I come into the room after him.

Mast. Cer. But when you come into the room and find the Danish Ambassador set, you cannot help it, though he have the upper place.

Wh. I shall endeavour to help it, rather than sit below the Danish Ambassador.

Mast. Cer. I presume you will not use force in the Queen's presence.

Wh. Master, it is impossible for me, if it were in the presence of all the queens and kings in Christendom, to forbear to use any means to hinder the dishonour of my nation in my person.

Mast. Cer. I believe the Danish Ambassador would not be so high as you are.

Wh. There is no reason why he should : he knows his nation never pretended to have the precedence of England, and you, being master of the ceremonies, cannot be ignorant of it.

Mast. Cer. I confess that your nation always had the precedence of Denmark when you were under a king.

Wh. I should never give it from them though they were under a constable.

Mast. Cer. If you insist upon it, the Danish Ambassador must be uninvited again, for I perceive that you two must not meet.

Wh. I suppose the gentleman would not expect precedence of me.

Mast. Cer. I can assure you he doth.

Wh. I can assure you he shall never have it, if I can help it. But I pray, Master, tell me whether her Majesty takes notice of this question of precedence, or did she wish to confer with me about it?

Mast. Cer. The Queen commanded me to speak with you about it, hoping that the question might be so composed that she might have the company of you both at her entertainment.

Wh. I shall stay at home rather than interrupt her Majesty's pleasures, which I should do by meeting the Danish Ambassador, to whom I shall not give precedence, unless he be stronger than I.

Mast. Cer. The Queen makes this masque chiefly for your Excellence's entertainment, therefore you must not be absent, but rather the Danish Ambassador must be uninvited; and I shall presently go about it.

Whitelocke returned a visit to Grave Eric, and showed him the Order of the Council touching the Swedish ships, much in favour of them, and which seemed very pleasing to the Grave; but he also showed to Whitelocke several letters which he had received from masters of Swedish ships, of new complaints of taking of their ships; and he desired that the Order showed him by Whitelocke might be extended to those whose ships had been since taken; which Whitelocke promised to endeavour, and said that he should be in a better capacity to serve him, and to procure discharges for their ships and goods, when he should be himself in England; and therefore desired that, by his despatch, they would hasten him thither, which the Grave

Order on
the Swedish
ships.

promised to do. At his going away, Grave Eric invited Whitelocke to dine with him on Monday next, and to come as a particular friend and brother, and not by a formal invitation as an ambassador. Whitelocke liked the freedom, and promised to wait on him ; and was the more willing to come, that he might see the fashion of their entertainments, this being the first invitation that was made to him by any person in this country.

General Grave Wirtenberg visited Whitelocke. He is a Finlander by birth, of an ancient family, who had applied himself wholly to the military profession, wherein he became so eminent, and had done so great service for this Crown, that he was had in great esteem, especially with the soldiery. He was a Ricks-Senator, and one of the College of War, and at present had the charge of General of the Ordnance, which is of higher account here than in England, being next in command to the Generalissimo, and over the soldiery which belong not to the train, and is often employed as a general. This gentleman seemed worthy of his honour ; he was of a low stature, somewhat corpulent, of a good mien, and plain behaviour, more in the military than courtly way. His discourse declared his reason and judgement to be very good, and his mention of anything relating to himself was full of modesty. He took great notice of the English navy and soldiery, and of the people's inclinations and violent desires of liberty. He spake only Swedish and High Dutch, which caused Whitelocke to make use of an interpreter, his kinsman Andrew Potley.

The
masque.

In the evening, according to the invitation from the Queen, Whitelocke went to Court to the masque,

where he did not find the Danish Ambassador. But some of the Court took notice of the discourse which had been between the master of the ceremonies and Whitelocke touching precedence, and they all approved Whitelocke's resolution, and told him that the Queen highly commended him for it, and said that he was a stout and faithful servant to the Protector and to his nation, and that she should love him the better for it; nor was the contest the less pleasing because with the Dane in Sweden.

From eight o'clock at night till two the next morning they were at the masque, which was in the usual room fitted for the solemnity, in which the Queen herself was an actor. The floor where they danced was covered with tapestry and hung about with red velvet, but most adorned by the presence of a great number of ladies richly dressed and beautified both by nature and habit, attending on their mistress; and there were also many senators, officers, courtiers, and nobility,—a very great presence of spectators. The music was excellent, especially the violins, which were many, and rare musicians and fittest for that purpose. The Queen herself danced very well at two entries: in the first she represented a Moorish lady, in the second a citizen's wife; in both the properties were exactly fitted, and in all the rest of the actors and dancers.

There were no speeches nor songs; men acting men's parts, and women the women's, with variety of representations and dances. The whole design was to show the vanity and folly of all professions and worldly things, lively represented by the exact properties and mute actions, genteelly, without the least offence or scandal.

It held two hours ; and after the dances the Queen caused her chair to be brought near to Whitelocke, where she sat down and discoursed with him of the masque. He (according to his judgement) commended it and the inoffensiveness of it, and rare properties fitted to every representation, with the excellent performance of their parts by all, especially by the Moorish lady and citizen's wife ; at which the Queen smiled, and said she was glad he liked it. He replied, that any of his countrymen might have been present at it without any offence, and he thanked her Majesty for the honour she gave him to be present at it. The Queen said she perceived that Whitelocke understood what belonged to masques and the most curious part of them, the properties,—with much like discourse ; after which she retired to her chamber, and Whitelocke to his lodging.

April 9, 1654.

Monsieur Bloome came to dine with Whitelocke, and to put him in mind of Grave Eric's request to him to dine with him the next day. He also sent to invite Whitelocke's two sons and Colonel Potley.

The Spanish
Envoy de-
parts with
rich pre-
sents.

In the afternoon Piementelle came to take his leave of Whitelocke, and said he intended to begin his journey the next morning. Whitelocke offered himself or his coaches and servants, to attend him out of town ; but he said it was not the custom when a public minister departed from a place to use any ceremony, but to leave him to the liberty of ordering and taking his journey, but thanked Whitelocke for his favour.

Though it were the Lord's Day, yet Piementelle fell into discourse of the last night's masque, which he

could not be present at publicly as formerly, because he had taken his leave of the Queen and Senators, yet, being desirous to see it, was admitted into the tiring-room; and he told Whitelocke that after the Queen had acted the Moorish lady and retired into that room to put off her disguise, Piementelle being there, she gave him her visor; in the mouth whereof was a diamond ring of great price, which shined and glistered gloriously by the torch and candle light as the Queen danced; this she bade Piementelle to keep till she called for it. Piementelle told her he wondered she would trust a jewel of that value in the hands of a soldier; she said she would bear the adventure of it. And when the masque was ended, Piementelle offered the ring again to the Queen, who told him that he had not kept it according to her commands, which were till she called for it, which she had not yet done, nor intended as long as she lived, but that he should keep it as a memorial of her favour. The Spaniard had cause to rest satisfied with the Queen's answer and her real and bountiful compliment, the ring being worth ten thousand crowns, which he brought away with him, besides many other jewels and presents from the Queen of great value, not publicly known. He took leave of Whitelocke and of his sons, Colonel Potley, and the gentlemen, with great civility.

April 10, 1654.

Between eleven and twelve o'clock, the usual dining-time here, Whitelocke, with his sons and Potley, attended only by two gentlemen, one page, and two lacqueys, went to Grave Eric's lodging to dinner. His

Whitelocke
dines with
Grave Eric
Oxenstiern.

rooms were not stately nor richly furnished, but such as could be had in that place. The outer room for servants was like a little hall; within that was a larger room, narrow and long, where they dined; within that was a smaller room hung with tapestry, used for a withdrawing-room: all below stairs, which is not usual in these parts.

Grave Eric met Whitelocke at the door of the lodging; in the dining-room was his father the Chancellor, and divers friends with him. The father and son went in with Whitelocke to the withdrawing-room, where, after a quarter of an hour's discourse, they were called to dinner, the meat being on the table; then a huge massy basin and ewer of silver gilt was brought for them to wash—some of the good booties met with in Germany. After washing, one of the pages (after their manner) said grace in Swedish.

The table was long and narrow; in the middle of it, on the further side, under a canopy of velvet, were set two great chairs: Whitelocke sat in the right-hand chair, and Woolfeldt in the other, on his left-hand. On the other side of the table, over against these, were set two other like great chairs; in the right-hand chair sat the Ricks-Droitset, and in the left-hand chair the Chancellor. By Whitelocke sat Grave Gabriel Oxenstiern and Senator Vanderlin in lesser chairs, and by Woolfeldt sat Whitelocke's sons and Potley. On the other side, in lesser chairs, by the Droitset, sat the Senators Beilke and Bundt the younger; by the Chancellor sat Senator Bundt the elder and Baron Douglas; at the upper end of the table sat Grave Eric, and at the lower end stood the carver. The dishes were all silver, not great, but

many, set one upon another, and filled with the best meat and most variety that the country did afford; and indeed the entertainment was very noble—they had four several courses of their best meat, and fish and fowl, dressed after the French mode.

They had excellent Rhenish wine, and indifferent good sack and claret; their beer very thick and strong, after the manner of the country. When the four courses were done, they took off the meat and tablecloth, and under it was another clean cloth; then they brought clean napkins and plates to every one, and set a full banquet on the table, and, as part thereof, tobacco and pipes, which they set before Whitelocke as a special respect to him, and he and two or three more of the company took of it as they sat at table; and they so civilly complied with Whitelocke as not to observe their own customs, but abstaining from healths or any excess.

They all sat bare at the table, according to their usage, chiefly (though no occasion were for it at this time) to avoid the trouble of often putting off and on their hats and caps in healths. They were full of good discourse, more cheerful than serious. Most at the table spake or understood somewhat of English, for which reason they were chosen to accompany Whitelocke here, as a compliment to his nation; they discoursed also in several other languages, as Swedish, High Dutch, French, and Latin.

After dinner, which was very long, they sat yet longer at the table, Whitelocke expecting when they would rise; till Douglas informed him, that he being the guest, and an ambassador, they used it as a respect to him, that none of the company would offer

Whitelocke
exchanges
his full
powers.

to rise till he first arose from the table. As soon as this was known to Whitelocke, he presently rose and the rest with him, and the Chancellor and he retired into the withdrawing-room ; where, after compliments and thanks for his noble treatment (which it was said the father made, though put out in the son's name, and was full of respect and magnificence), Whitelocke thought fit to show to the Chancellor his powers to treat, and they had conference to this effect.

Whitelocke. Father, if you please to peruse this writing, you will be satisfied that the Protector, since the late change of Government in England, hath thought me worthy to be trusted and furnished with sufficient power as to this treaty.

Chancellor. My dear son, this is very full, and a large testimony of the good opinion your master hath of you. All your powers and the originals of your commissions (according to custom) are to be left with us, to be registered in our Chancery.

Wh. I suppose you will also deliver to me the originals of your powers, to be enrolled (according to the English custom also) in our Chancery.

Chan. That shall be done.

Wh. The like shall be done on my part ; and the Protector will be ready to do whatever shall be judged further necessary for the ratifying of this business.

Chan. It will be requisite that you let me have in Latin your instructions from the Protector.

Wh. I shall cause it to be done, except such part of them as are secret.

Chan. That which is to be reserved in secrecy I desire not to see ; there will be sufficient besides to show your powers.

Wh. They will fully appear.

Chan. I should counsel you, before your departure out of this kingdom, to make a visit to the Prince of Sweden ; he will take it in good part, and it will testify a respect of the Protector to him, and render the alliance the more firm.

Wh. It is my purpose to visit the Prince ; not that I am in doubt of the validity of the treaty made with the Queen, unless the Prince approve of it, but, as you advise, to show the respect of the Protector to his Kingly Highness, and to acquit myself of a due civility.

Chan. It will be fit for you to do it ; and I shall advise you, at your return home, to put the Protector in mind of some particulars which, in my judgement, require his special care.

Wh. I shall faithfully do it, and I know they will be received with much the more regard coming from you : I pray do me the favour to let me know them.

Chan. I would counsel the Protector to take heed of those dangerous opinions in matters of religion which daily increase among you, and, if not prevented and curbed, will cause new troubles, they never resting till themselves may domineer in chief.

Oxen-
stiern's ad-
vice to
Cromwell.

Wh. Will not the best way to curb them be to slight them, and so they will fall of themselves ?

Chan. I doubt they have taken too much root to fall so easily ; but if they be not countenanced with preferments, they will the sooner wither and decay.

Wh. That will surely lessen them.

Chan. The Protector must also be careful to provide money and employment for his soldiers, else he will hardly keep them in order.

Wh. That is very requisite ; and for money there is good provision already made.

Chan. He must likewise be watchful of the King's party, who will be busy at work, especially upon the new change.

Wh. The care thereof is the life of our affairs, and his Highness is most vigilant.

Chan. It behoves him to be so, for they that could not vanquish him by arms will endeavour to do it by craft and treachery of your own party, which you must look to.

Wh. He hath good intelligence of their plots.

Chan. It will also be prudence in him to let the people see that he intends not to rule them with an iron sceptre, nor to govern them by an army, but to give them such a liberty and enjoyment of the benefit of their laws that the continuance of his government may become their interest, and that they may have no cause to desire a change ; else, though they must bear the yoke for a time, yet as soon as they meet with an opportunity they will shake it off again.

Wh. This is counsel proper to come from such a mind and judgement as yours is, and I shall not fail to report it to his Highness ; and your Excellence hath rightly stated the disposition of my countrymen, who love peace and liberty, and will hardly brook slavery longer than they are forced to it by necessity ; and the best way to govern them is to let them enjoy their laws and rights, which will rule them better than an iron sceptre.

Chan. It is the disposition of all generous and free people, as the English are, whom I truly respect, and him that is their head, that gallant person the Protector.

They had much other discourse ; and after being together till six o'clock, the father and son, and the Chancellor and Whitelocke, called one another, and all the company parted.

April 11, 1654.

The Chancellor had promised to procure Whitelocke his despatch in a few days. He sent Canterstein to communicate to him the articles drawn in form, with the amendments, to see if there were any mistake in them. Whitelocke and the secretary perused them together, and agreed on all except two or three points, in which was some small difference ; and Canterstein promised to hasten the engrossing of them.

The Queen
proposes a
secret
article.

Many strangers dining with Whitelocke made him the later in his visit to the Queen, to take his leave of her Majesty before her intended journey to see her mother. She promised Whitelocke that during her absence she would leave order with the Chancellor and his son to conclude the treaty, and at her return she would do what belonged to her for the speedy despatch of Whitelocke, to his contentment. She promised also to give order to her Chancellor about the business of Guinea, whereof they had much discourse.

She was pleased to propound to Whitelocke a secret article to be between her and the Protector, and not to be in the treaty between her Commissioners and Whitelocke, nor to be known to any of them. She said, that if it might be done, she should take it in very good part ; but if Whitelocke thought it not likely to be done, then she would think no more of it. She said the substance of what she desired was that it

might be agreed, by a particular article between the Protector and her, that in case those here should not perform what they promised to her upon her resignation of the government, that then it should be in the power of the Protector to break the treaty now made, and not to be bound by it.

Whitelocke was much troubled at this proposal, and upon a great difficulty in it—that if he should deny it, the Queen might be distasted and break off from his treaty; and to consent to it he had no commission, nor held it reasonable; but he told the Queen that it was a matter of great weight, deserving her Majesty's serious thoughts what to do in it. He said he had no instructions upon any such article as this, nor could agree to it; but if her Majesty pleased to have such an article drawn up, and to sign it herself and send it to the Protector, he promised to use his best interest to persuade his Highness to a consent thereunto, and to sign it at Whitelocke's return to England, and so to return it to her Majesty.

She said that Woolfeldt should confer with Whitelocke about the drawing up of such an article, whom she would trust in it, but not any of the Swedes, because it might concern them, and occasion prejudice to them. Whitelocke agreed that Woolfeldt was a fit person to be trusted in this business, and one with whom he should willingly confer about any service for her Majesty; that he believed something might be done herein to the Queen's advantage, but whether in this way of a secret article, and as part of the treaty, he doubted, lest thereby offence might be given, and the treaty thereby, as to both parts, be weakened. The Queen replied that it would keep those here in some

fear lest if they should break with her, that then the Protector would not keep the treaty with them.

Whitelocke thought it best to be at some reserve in this article of secresy, not wholly to dissuade the Queen from it, lest she might be distasted. He saw advantage to the Protector to have it put into his power to break the treaty upon this occasion ; but he doubted the honour and clearness of it, and therefore he judged it best to say the less at this time. Only he observed what a condition the Queen had brought her affairs unto when she thought not fit to trust any of her countrymen in this business ; and before her resignation she distrusted the performance of the conditions of it towards herself, and therefore would have this secret article as a bridle to them. But as she distrusted her own party, so she testified great confidence in the Protector and in Whitelocke, to whom she propounded this secret article of so much concernment to her.

Whitelocke persuaded her Majesty to appoint faithful persons to order her revenue for her, and not to stay long here after her resignation, because she would then find a great difference in the carriage of persons to her. She said she had taken care about her revenue as he had advised her, and that she would be gone out of Sweden presently after her resignation ; that she expected the alteration of men's carriages towards her after it, but it would not trouble her ; that the world was of such a condition, that nothing of respect was to be looked for but where advantage was hoped for by it. She never esteemed the fawnings of men for their own ends, but her own private contentment and satisfaction.

Whitelocke sent his son James and his secretary (Earle) to Canterstein with a copy of the form which Whitelocke intended to follow in the instrument intended to be delivered by him, where he put the Protector's name first, and some other small variations, as usage required; wherewith Canterstein promised to acquaint the Chancellor and to return an answer.

Whitelocke employed his son for his experience to be gained in these affairs.

April 12, 1654.

Woolfeldt
opposes the
secret ar-
ticle.

Mr. Woolfeldt having done Whitelocke the favour to dine with him, they retired and discoursed privately to this effect:—

Woolfeldt. The Queen was pleased the last night to send for me, and to communicate to me the matter of a secret article which, she said, she had before imparted to you.

Whitelocke. What is your opinion of such an article?

Woolf. Truly, I dissuaded her from it, as not convenient, in my poor opinion, for either party.

Wh. I know your judgement is grounded upon solid reason.

Woolf. My reasons are, because this article is to be kept secret, and to be added as a part of the treaty by her Majesty without the knowledge of those here, which, when it shall come to be known, will give them the more cause of objection and hatred against her for it, and expose her to more inconveniences than it can bring advantage to her; and therefore I thought it better for her Majesty to forbear it.

Wh. Your reasons were the true ones: was her Majesty convinced by them?

Woolf. She seemed to make more doubt of it than at first, but told me that you were not much against it, and desired to confer with me about it while she was out of town, and she wished me to prepare something against her return.

Wh. As I told her Majesty, I can consent to nothing in this point, having no instructions in any matter of this nature, as you will easily believe; but if her Majesty shall think fit to have anything drawn up by way of a secret article, all that I can do will be to present it to the Protector at my return home, and I know he will be as ready as any person to show respect to the Queen; but what he will do as to a consent in this particular I cannot tell, but am doubtful lest it may be apprehended as a weakening of the treaty and alliance.

Woolf. That is a great and true objection against it; and, in my opinion, it would be better for the Queen to write a letter to the Protector in general compliment, and in it to desire him to be a friend to her, and to give her his assistance upon any occasion that may fall out concerning her; and this letter may be sent by you, and delivered by your hand to the Protector, when you may acquaint him with anything further or more particularly relating to her Majesty.

Wh. I think this will be much the better way; and if such a letter be sent by me, I hope I shall be able to procure such an answer, or, upon any occasion, such a return as will be to the contentment of her Majesty. But in case the Queen should sign such an article, and then the Protector should not approve it,

it would distaste the Queen and her friends, and she would be censured to have done too low an act in it.

Woolf. I had yesterday a long discourse with the Chancellor about your affairs of England, and particularly of your fleet now at sea—what should be the design of having so strong a fleet at sea, the sea-war between you and your enemies being reported at an end, and peace concluded; and whether your design might be for France or Spain or Portugal.

Wh. Or for the defence of England.

Woolf. He was much amused about it.

Wh. I hope that was not lessened by you.

Woolf. No indeed; I endeavoured to amuse him more, and told him, that for France, England did not care to have it; it would be but a charge and no benefit to them, and embroil them in a long chargeable war.

Wh. England hath had experience thereof formerly when they were masters of France, and many of us think our own country as good as France.

Woolf. I am of that opinion; and I told him there was as little probability for any design against Spain because of its distance, and little advantage to England by a war with them.

Wh. I hope you commended a kingdom called Denmark?

Woolf. I first told him that for Portugal or the Indies the like objections were against any design for them; but as for Denmark, I told him that England had just cause to make war upon that king, and that it would be no hard business to gain upon him; and the advantage of traffic made me think that to be the most probable design of any other to be intended by

this great fleet of England, wherein it is most likely for you to gain advantage to your Commonwealth and to give offence to none, having a just cause of quarrel against him.

Wh. Your brother the King of Denmark hath given cause indeed to be visited.

Wolf. I shall inform you of one thing, of which you may now make advantage. Your King James made a treaty with the last King of Denmark concerning the Isles of the Orcades, which were claimed by the Dane as part of their territories; and after the death of King James and our last King, that then, upon payment of £13,000 by the Dane, he should have the Orcades again. Now both these kings being dead, according to that treaty it is in the liberty of the King of Denmark to redeem those islands; and it would be good for you, in the treaty with that Crown, who would be included in your treaty with the Hollanders, to have a clause for the present King of Denmark to quit his pretences to the Orcades upon the treaty with King James.

Wh. This is a very material thing, and I shall not fail to do somewhat in it, if I can return to England time enough; and I thank you for putting me in mind of it.

Grave Eric came to Whitelocke, who had much discourse with him touching Guinea, and the injuries done by the Swedes to the English there.

*Discussion
on the
Guinea set-
tlements.*

Grave Eric. One of the principal persons of the Swedish plantation there is now in this country, and complains of injuries done by the English to the Swedes there. I think it may be fit to hear both the complaints of the one and of the other part, and there-

upon to come to some agreement upon the whole matter.

Whitelocke. I have here many examinations taken upon oath concerning this matter.

Gr. Eric. Those complaints ought to be determined by the King of that country, who sold the lands to the planters, and can resolve all differences about that matter.

Wh. I believe that the complaints of this nature are properly to be made to the Queen, whose subjects are concerned in them, and they are always under her rule.

Gr. Eric. The Queen will make no difficulty to do justice in this case, and I hope that the Protector will do the like.

Wh. You need not at all to doubt it.

Gr. Eric. This messenger, now come to me, hath brought me letters from the Queen, in which there is mention of this business.

Wh. Why may not an article touching Guinea be inserted with the rest?

Gr. Eric. That will not be convenient, because the articles are entirely concluded and engrossed on our part; and this of Guinea is but a particular business, which till now came not under consideration, nor hath been examined, and it will be better to have an article by itself upon this subject.

Wh. I am satisfied with your reason, and think this way will be no disadvantage to the merchants of either nation. I desire an addition to the article touching passports, that none shall do anything contrary to the letters of passport.

Gr. Eric. I cannot consent to that, for it will render the whole article fruitless in both parts; and there is

another article, that in case any shall act anything in prejudice of the treaty, he shall be punished.

In consideration of this article, and in regard that the agreement touching the form of passports was remitted to something to be done therein afterwards, and he found Eric stiff against any alteration, Whitelocke did not think it material to insist further upon it. As to that which Whitelocke desired to the last article of ratification, that the words "vel successoribus suis" might be omitted, Eric said he would consent thereunto if he found it material, and desired the business might be finished; and he desired Whitelocke to excuse a little small delay at present by his absence for a few days, he being necessitated to go out of town tomorrow, but at his return all should be concluded; and as soon as the Queen came back, the whole business should be finished, which had been done before, but by reason of the Queen's unexpected journey.

April 13, 1654.

In the morning the Chancellor came to Whitelocke and staid with him near three hours. They had much debate touching Guinea, to the like effect as before with his son; they had also debate about the amendments which Whitelocke had desired might be inserted in the articles, chiefly that touching passports, to which the Chancellor would by no means agree. He likewise said to Whitelocke:—

Whitelocke
confers
with the
Chancellor,
and invites
him to
dinner.

Chancellor. The Queen caused the articles to be copied out, to the end (as I believe) to communicate them to the Prince, which will be for the greater validity of the treaty and alliance.

Whitelocke. I am glad her Majesty is pleased to take the advice of the Prince in this business, and am willing to promise myself that nothing is contained in the articles which he will not approve.

Chan. I believe the same.

Wh. This might be the occasion that my business was not finished before her Majesty's going out of town.

Chan. I myself am also going into the country, and come now to take my leave of you.

Wh. I hope you will return before her Majesty.

Chan. I purpose to stay abroad but four or five days ; and I find that frequent exercise and change of air tendeth very much to the improving of my health.

Wh. I do heartily wish your health, and hope that the Queen and you will shortly be in town again, and that then my business will be finished.

Chan. There is no doubt but that your business will be despatched within a very few days after the Queen's return.

They had much other discourse touching the affairs of England, in which the Chancellor testified much respect to England and to the Protector.

Whitelocke invited the Chancellor to dinner to his house, but he excused himself, alleging that his age and infirmities would not permit him to take a meal out of his own house, or at the houses of some of his children, where he might enjoy the same liberty as at his own house. Whitelocke told him that he should have the same liberty at his house, who was one of his sons, as he could take at the houses of any other of his children ; but the Chancellor earnestly desired to be excused, and Whitelocke thought not fit further

to importune him, but desired him to hasten his return hither, which he promised to do.

Whitelocke received his letters from England, and in that from Thurloe he writes :—

“There hath been consideration taken of your return home, but the issue of the treaty with the Dutch not being yet known, his Highness’s resolutions as to your return are deferred until the next ; the difficulty of that business lies in the article relating to the Danes, etc. All things else remain as they did by my last, so that your Excellence will be saved this week the labour of reading my long letter. This day we have a fast for the great drought.

*Letters
from
Thurloe.*

“My Lady was here with me to hasten your return, wherein I should be glad to be instrumental. I pray God preserve your Excellence, and bless the affairs under your hand. I am,

“Your Excellence’s humble servant,

“JO. THURLOE.

“*March 24th, 1653.*

“I saw a letter to his Highness from Upsal, wherein some expressions were used as if your Excellence were like to be removed from the Seal. His Highness commanded me to assure you that there are no such intentions, but much the contrary, whereof your Excellence will have real demonstrations upon all occasions.”

April 14, 1654.

Grave Eric desired Whitelocke to give a passport to a Swedish ship bound from Stockholm to Portugal. The Chancellor requested the same, and both father and son engaged to Whitelocke that there was nothing aboard the vessel, nor any design in her voyage, against England ; that she was freighted for Portugal only, and that they should esteem the favour as done to

*Passport
given to a
Swedish
ship.*

themselves, because they had a share in the goods on board this ship. Whitelocke, though he were hardly persuaded to give his passports to Swedish ships or to any other, yet considering the time when this was desired, and the persons desiring it, he thought not fit to deny it, but gave it in this form.*

Whitelocke gave an account in his letters this day to Thurloe of all passages of moment since his last, and wrote further :—

Letters to
Thurloe.

“My letters, I confess, have been tedious heretofore, but I ask your pardon, and do hope that my business is now at such a period that I shall not have occasion to trouble you with the like.

“There is little to do here at this time ; almost all the great lords and courtiers are gone out of town, so that here is a lamentable silent place. I shall be heartily glad to receive my Lord’s order to authorize my return ; but my business being now ended, I presume I may expect his pleasure at any other place. I purpose to visit the Queen-mother and the Prince of Sweden, because other ambassadors have done it, and I have been particularly invited to it. I think it will be a respect from my Lord Protector

* “Whereas Peter Gerbrant, citizen of Stockholm, and commander of a ship belonging to her Majesty the Queen of Sweden, called the ‘Sudermanland,’ loaden with corn and other Swedish merchandises, is now bound for Lisbon, in Portugal, and, for his better passage, hath desired of me, being Ambassador Extraordinary from his Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, unto her Majesty the Queen of Sweden, to give him my pass and letters recommendatory : These are therefore to desire all commanders and officers by sea or land, and all others of the said Commonwealth whom it may concern, to permit the said Peter Gerbrant, together with his said ship and lading, to pass unto the said port of Lisbon quietly and without any molestation ; and so to return from thence unto Stockholm, with such lading as the said master shall there think fit to take into his ship. Given under my hand and seal at Upsal, in Sweden, this 14th day of April, 1654. B. W.”

which they will take very kindly, and may be some strength to the alliance, and is not the less requisite for me, because our enemies report that none but mechanics are of our party; but since our being here the Swedes acknowledge the contrary.

"I hope within two or three weeks to be at sea, and that my God, who hath hitherto been so good to me, will give me a safe return to my Lord and to my native country, to whom I wish all prosperity.

"Your affectionate friend to serve you,

"B. W.

"*Upsal, 14th April, 1654.*

"I hope you will pardon the importunity of my wife's solicitation, being for my return. I have been informed this week that some Holland ships are loading here with ordnance and other provisions of war. I hope his Highness hath been pleased to give order for two or three ships to be at Hamburg for my transportation into England, and therein I entreat your favour.

"B. W."

In this letter Whitelocke also gave advice, what he had been informed touching the treaty between King James and the last King of Denmark concerning the Orcades, with his humble opinion what was fit to be done in that business, upon the comprehension of the Dane in the Dutch treaty, yet nothing was done therein; however, Whitelocke was satisfied in the acquittal of himself to have done his duty.

Upon the earnest request of some Scots and English gentlemen on the behalf of Colonel Halsall, now in this town, Whitelocke gave him this pass.*

* "Whereas the bearer hereof, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Halsall, had a pass from Colonel Robert Lilburne, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland under his Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to transport

April 15, 1654.

Excursion
with the
French
Resident.

The Resident of France having desired Whitelocke that when he went abroad to take the air he would give him leave to accompany him, Whitelocke sent to him, this fair day inviting and leisure not hindering it. They went together in Whitelocke's coach to a wood, about an English mile from Upsal, full of pines, fir-trees, and juniper, and very fair and pleasant walks in it. The beauty of the day and place had also invited thither at this time the Ambassador of Denmark and the Holland Resident, who, perceiving Whitelocke's coaches and company, crossed out of the way where they were, and betook themselves to another walk ; but Whitelocke kept on in his, and with the French Resident had much general discourse, but little of matters of state, because they could not trust one the other ; yet Whitelocke learnt from him the condition of several persons in principal credit in the Court of France, and the way of their management of affairs. This gentleman was very civil and courteous and good company, desiring the conversation of Whitelocke, which he afforded him both going

himself, his servant, and necessities into Sweden upon his occasions, and, having despatched his business, he hath made his request to me, being Ambassador from his said Highness the Lord Protector to her Majesty the Queen of Sweden, to grant him my pass for his return into Scotland : These are therefore to desire all commanders by sea or land, and all officers and others of the said Commonwealth whom it may concern, to suffer him, the said Lieutenant-Colonel Halsall, quietly to pass into Scotland, he acting nothing prejudicial to the Commonwealth aforesaid ; and further I desire that the Commander-in-Chief in Scotland will be pleased to show unto him, the said Lieutenant-Colonel, such favour at all times as he shall there deserve. Given under my hand and seal, at Upsal, in Sweden, this 14th of April, 1654. B. WHITELOCKE."

abroad and in his house, to which the Resident did him the favour to be no stranger.

Whitelocke told him he purposed to go by Nordköping, and by the way to visit the Queen-mother and the Prince, and to have his ship meet him there. The Resident said the ship could not easily come to Nordköping, being no good harbour; but his best way would be to go from thence to Calmar, and his ship to meet him there, the haven being open and the ship may come near the town; and that Nordköping was the midway between Stockholm and Calmar, and the ship might be as soon at Calmar as at Nordköping; that the passage to Lübeck was much easier from Calmar than from Nordköping, and with a good wind might be made from Calmar in two days. But hereof Whitelocke intended to have the advice of some Swedes.

April 16, 1654.

Monsieur Bloome this Lord's Day dined with Whitelocke, and told him that the Chancellor had left him in town to keep Whitelocke company in the absence of the Chancellor, and to assure him that the Chancellor would return again in a very few days. Whitelocke made much of him, and had good informations from him. He said that Grave John Oxenstiern, the Chancellor's eldest son, had at that time, whilst his father was alive, above £20,000 sterling of yearly revenue, which he had from his father and by his wife, an inheritrix; and that Grave Eric, the second son, had in his father's lifetime near £10,000 sterling of yearly revenue, besides what both of them might expect from their father: and therefore both father and

Great
wealth of
the Oxen-
stiern
family.

sons might, as they did, live in great state and with attendance of much port and ceremony.

Grave Leonhough bestowed a visit on Whitelocke. He is a senator and one of the College of War, a person of great esteem and good parts ; his conversation was full of civility ; his discourse (in French) was rational, and for the most part upon matter of war, history, and the mathematics. In his company was an officer, his brother-in-law, who had served the King of Portugal in his late wars, and was a civil person, and seemed a gallant man. This Grave had been long bred up in the wars, and was now a Major-General ; and his discourse showed him to be knowing and modest. He demanded of Whitelocke many questions touching the affairs of England, and particularly of the late civil dissensions there, and had a full account thereof from Whitelocke, by which he seemed to receive much satisfaction, and acknowledged that he had not heard the truth before, and that this relation justified the proceedings of the Parliament. He spake nothing to Whitelocke touching his business of the treaty, nor did Whitelocke mention it to this Grave, whom he never saw before, and because it was a day for other duties.

April 17, 1854.

A serenade
to White-
locke.

Upsal being very empty, by the absence of the Queen and all the great Lords, who were retired to their country-houses, but most of them to Stockholm, it was given out that her Majesty would not return to this place, but remain at Stockholm, and that the General Assembly should be held there ; which was not

believed by Whitelocke, because the Queen had assured him that she would return to Upsal within eight or ten days, and she never brake her word with him.

Her absence, and the leisure which they had thereby, gave opportunity to some of her musicians (Italians and Germans) to pass a compliment on Whitelocke, to come to his house, and with great ceremony to entertain him with their vocal and instrumental music, which was excellent good; and they played many lessons of English composition, which the gentlemen who were musical of Whitelocke's family brought forth unto them.

April 18, 1654.

Whitelocke returned a visit to the Grave Leon-^{The Swedish army.} hough, whose lodgings were but mean, such as the town would afford, but his treatment was with great civility. Amongst other discourse he inquired touching the discipline of war and ordering the soldiery in England, who, he said, must be well paid, or else they could not be kept in good order. Whitelocke acknowledged that to be very true, and said that in England special care was taken for the constant and due pay of the armies much beyond other countries, by which means they were kept in the best and strictest discipline of any armies in the world; that violence or plunder, contrary to the articles of war, was severely punished.

The Grave acquainted Whitelocke that he was to go out of town the next day to a general muster, about four leagues from hence, within the province where he had the government; which occasioned Whitelocke to

inquire of him, and to be informed that this was the standing militia of the country, and that the manner of it was thus:—

The whole militia of Sweden in the country, besides the standing forces of their armies in service, doth consist of 50,000 horse and foot, whereof 12,000 horse and 38,000 foot in the several provinces are constantly in a readiness to be drawn forth in fourteen days' time. In Sweden are about 5000 horse and 20,000 foot, and in Finland and the other provinces about 8000 horse and 20,000 foot: in all, above 50,000. That the Crown is not at any charge for the pay of these militia forces, unless they are drawn forth into actual service, and then they are paid as their other army forces are, which is not very much or constant; but when they are in an enemy's country they live upon the country, and take contribution, if not plunder; and somewhat is allowed them by the Crown, as so much in money (which is a very small proportion) and such a weekly quantity of bread, butter, and cheese for every foot-soldier, and a like proportion for the horsemen; whose charge may be guessed at by that of their officers, of whom it was affirmed that the allowance to a captain of horse was his stove and his stable, and twenty rix-dollars a year. His stove they call his fire, candle, and entertainment for himself; his stable, that is horse-meat, and room, and shoeing; and for himself from the Crown (besides what he gets from the country) but twenty rix-dollars a year, with the like proportion for other officers and soldiers.

The manner of maintaining their militia forces in the country was said to be this:—A horseman was quartered in the house of a boor, or husbandman; if the

man will work himself and his horse with the boor, to help him in his husbandry, then the boor gives the man and his horse entertainment freely, and hath their work for it, which is more worth than their meat, and the boor will give the man perhaps some small sum of money besides. By this way the boor hath an advantage—the work of a man and a horse for their meat only; and the horseman hath an advantage—his own and his horse's meat, besides what the Crown allows him, and himself and horse kept in better condition by it; and without his work, the boor is not compellable to find him but his lodging only.

In like manner it is for the foot-soldier. He is quartered with a boor, and must work for the boor, or have no diet from him; but they do work generally, and by that means the soldier is kept out of idleness. The countryman hath a benefit by his work for his diet only, whereas he must give diet and wages to a servant; and the soldier by his work hath his diet besides what the State allows him, and so he and his landlord are both well pleased. But the Crown hath the greatest advantage, which hereby saves the great pay which otherwise they must allow; and yet these forces are constantly in a readiness when the occasions of the Crown require their service.

The officers of these militia forces have no pay at all but when they are in actual service, neither do they expect any pay, being gentlemen of quality and interest in the country: the chief of whom, who are fit for it, are made colonels; the next to them lieutenant-colonels, majors, captains, and inferior officers, according to their rank of the country gentlemen, known and beloved among their neighbours, with whom their in-

terest and power, increased by their command, makes them the better followed and obeyed. When they write out any from the militia to serve in the armies, these officers and the lords of the boors appoint them; and if any offend, they are presently written out to send abroad into Russia, Poland, Germany, and other parts, from whence they do not all return safe, but are kept in great awe and obedience.

This day here fell a great quantity of snow, and was in one night so hard frozen that it would bear a cart; the English wondered at it, but not this country men, the like being here usual at this time of the year and after.

The Countess of Brahe, wife of the Ricks-Droitset, sent a gentleman to Whitelocke to acquaint him that there was a parcel of timber, cut and lying ready within four miles of Gothenburg, which did belong to her former husband, and was cut for the building of a ship; but by reason of her husband's death the ship was not built, and she offered the timber to Whitelocke at a reasonable price. But he, finding that it had been cut four years, and lay far from the water-side, made an excuse that it would be necessary to have it viewed, which his hastening away would not now permit; but he returned thanks to the Countess for her respects in the offer of it.

April 19, 1654.

Prepara-
tions for the
abdication.

Monsieur Bloome and divers others, having dined with Whitelocke, acquainted him that the Chancellor intended to return hither the next day after the Queen. Whitelocke said he hoped the Chancellor would have

been here before her Majesty ; but this was an argument to confute the report that the Queen would stay at Stockholm and hold the Ricksdag there. Another argument was, the Queen's officers removing and altering some of the hangings in Whitelocke's house, being longer and fitter for the rooms to be furnished in the castle for the Ricksdag than those which they put up in their places in Whitelocke's lodging.

April 20, 1654.

In pursuance of former discourse with Monsieur Bloome, and by the desire of Mr. Bushel in England to Whitelocke to inquire into it, he received a paper in French, from a person here employed about the mines, to inform him by what means this person might be treated with to be brought into England for improving of our mines there. ^{Swedish mines.}

Whitelocke also, by desire of a worthy friend in England, furnished himself with a direction how he might procure some hawks out of this country, and chiefly from the isle of Deulandt, where the best hawks are ; and he had gained much acquaintance with Grave Gabriel Oxenstiern, Great Falconer and Master of the Queen's Hawks, who promised his furtherance of Whitelocke's desires herein, and to assist and direct any servant whom he should send hither for that purpose. ^{Hawks.}

One Catharine Penn, an Englishwoman, the widow of an officer of the Queen's army, entreated Whitelocke to present for her a sad petition to the Queen for some arrears due to her husband, which matters Whitelocke was not forward to meddle with ; but this being his ^{Mrs. Penn.}

countrywoman, and of the ancient family of Penn in Buckinghamshire, to which he had an alliance, Whitelocke did undertake to present her petition to the Queen. He undertook the like for a decayed English merchant residing at Hamburg, who petitioned the Queen for moneys owing to him at Bremen, where he could have no justice from the Governor, Vice-Chancellor, and others in authority; and this he undertook to move to the Queen, upon the earnest request of Mr. Bradshaw, Resident for the Protector at Hamburg, by his letters this day received.

He was also presented with a Latin epistle from one Jonas Olaii, begging for some charity, and who, to be sure to go high enough, gave throughout his letter the style of "*illustrissime Comes and Celsitudo tua*," for which his gift from Whitelocke was the less.

Trade with
Muscovy.

In this day's packet Whitelocke received letters from the Muscovia Company in England, signed by the Governor and Consuls, in which they set forth the decay and loss of their trade in Muscovia by supplantation of the Dutch, and the Great Duke's disfavour to them, which they hope may be altered upon the late change of government in England; that they understand there is now in this Court an Ambassador from the Great Duke to the Queen; and they desire Whitelocke, that if this ambassador do visit him, or if he think fit to visit the Russian Ambassador, that he would intimate this matter to him, which they hope may much further their purpose of sending to the Great Duke for recovery of their trade.

By this post Whitelocke received these letters from the Secretary Thurloe:—

*"For his Excellence my Lord Ambassador Whitelocke, at
Upsal, in Sweden. These.*

*Despatch
from Thur-
loe.*

"My Lord,

"Your letters of the 24th of February arrived here five or six days later than usual, and this day's post is not yet arrived. The peace with the Dutch hath been in such an uncertain condition, that it was very hard to make a judgement concerning the issue of it. In the end of the last and beginning of this week it was more probable that the war should continue than otherwise; and your Excellence will see by the enclosed papers, which passed between the Commissioners of his Highness and the Ambassadors (which I have sent to you because there is contained in them the true state of the treaty as it stood whilst the differences lasted); the last of those papers will let your Excellence see that they are now very near a closure; and the truth is, that there is now nothing wanting but the drawing up of things into form, and the signing on both sides, which I believe will be effected within three or four days at furthest. But because we cannot rely upon the peace as made until it be actually signed, his Highness will defer the sending instructions to you in reference either to your present negotiation or returning home until the next, when your Excellence may certainly except them; and in the meantime your Excellence may rest assured that there hath been no other cause in delaying instructions to you upon this subject but the desire that there is in everybody to give you clear directions in so doubtful a case as this. If your staying or returning did depend upon your own negotiation there, it were easy to leave you to your own guidance; but when it rests merely upon the conclusion of the present treaty here with the Dutch, it is not possible to give you any instructions which you may with safety act upon until the issue thereof be perfectly known; and after that, your Excellence shall not be an hour without the knowledge of his Highness's pleasure thereupon.

"It is certain this State hath moved upon Christian

grounds only in making this peace: we have not been beaten or frightened into it; the Dutch have not yet any fleet at sea, nor can have this month, if the war should continue. In the meantime we have a hundred and forty sail at sea, and better ships than we have had at any time heretofore, which gives occasion to all our neighbours to wonder at our intentions thereby.

"Since I began my letter I have been with the Dutch Ambassador, and every article is agreed word for word, so that nothing now remains to be done but to write them over and sign, which will be done upon Monday next. It is not possible for me to send unto your Excellence a copy of the articles as they are now agreed; I hope to do it by the next, when you will be satisfied concerning the reports I hear there are in Sweden, concerning the honourable terms the Dutch have gotten by this treaty. I know not what men may expect in matters of honour; I am sure the true interest of the nation, both in point of trade and otherwise, is provided for more fully than ever hath been in any treaty made between these States.

"The French Ambassador had a public audience on Monday last. There is joined with him in Commission one Monsieur le Baas, in quality of a Commissary, who is a great confidant of the Cardinal's, and a very crafty man. The French doth certainly intend by all means to make a league with his Highness, and offers very frankly and considerably as to our present interest. The Spaniard thinks he saith more to invite the Protector to look that way and embrace an alliance with him; and sure he is the steadier friend, and hath the better and more considerable trade.*

"The news I have either from France or Holland this week your Excellence will receive enclosed. The affairs in Scotland do not much alter: Middleton is very active to

* [These words show that the contest between the French and Spanish alliance in London was still going on; but they did not convey the truth to Whitelocke, for it was against Spain that the great armament previously mentioned was destined to be used, in the expedition to St. Domingo and the conquest of Jamaica.]

get an army, but keeps in the most northerly parts. We never met with any of their forces but we beat them—the last letters being that we fell upon a party and took forty prisoners and sixty horse, which is all we have from thence.

“I have done my utmost to get the Swedish ships released; but to say the truth, although some of the Swedes are innocent, yet many of them appear to be deceivers, which makes the rest fare the worse. I endeavoured to get a resolution of the case your Excellence wrote about by your former letters, so as to have sent it by this post, but could not; the orders which have been made about it since my last I have sent, whereof your Excellence may see the care that is had to do justice therein.

“What your Excellence is informed concerning the preferring of the Agent of the Swiss to Lagerfeldt in their farewell, is a great mistake. I know no honour done to him at his going away, but the sending the answer of his letter to him by the master of the ceremony; he had neither gift nor entertainment that I know of.

“I hope the copy of the articles of the Dutch treaty, which I formerly sent, your Excellence hath received before now. I am sorry to hear that your entertainment in Sweden begins to be like my Lord St. John’s in Holland; but I trust the Lord will continue his protection to yourself and family, which is the prayer of

“Your Excellence’s humble servant,

“JO. THURLOE.

“*March 31, 1654.*

“Monsieur Bonnele, the Queen of Sweden’s Commissary, hath desired audience to deliver a letter congratulatory to his Highness from the Queen. The superscription is not very right; besides, your Excellency having writ nothing about it, some difficulty hath been in the delivery of it; but yet at last resolved to receive it as it is.”

This letter is inserted to show by it the constant way and course of intelligence, and the generality

and clearness of it, between Thurloe and Whitelocke, whereby his business and reputation in this Court was very much advanced, and Whitelocke made great use and advantage by it. The papers usually enclosed in Thurloe's letters were many, and contained all particulars of moment touching the Dutch treaty, as also relating to the affairs of England and of most parts of Christendom. One clause in this letter of Thurloe's, that, after the Dutch treaty had concluded, his Highness would send new instructions to Whitelocke, for his direction to proceed in the treaty in Sweden,—this gave much trouble and perplexity of thoughts to Whitelocke. He could not imagine what those new instructions should be. If they should be contrary to what he had already agreed, it would be not only to the dishonour of Whitelocke, but of the Protector likewise and of the English nation, for him to go back from what he had before assented to, and to go out here with a snuff, retracting his former agreement, or else he must proceed contrary to his instructions, which would not be ratified; and both of these mischiefs great enough. He was in suspense whether he should seal the articles here beforehand, or expect the receipt of these instructions before he signed them. He considered that if he should defer the signing of the articles till after the receipt of those new instructions, that then they could not at all be signed by the present Queen, who intended to continue but one week in the government, and if she did not sign in that time she could not sign at all; but the whole must be remitted to a new treaty with the new King, upon new credentials, commission, and instructions, which would require much time and trouble.

He thought not fit to communicate his doubts, but resolved with himself to proceed to the finishing of the treaty without staying for new instructions from England, because otherwise all his negotiation would become fruitless; and he held himself obliged, in honour and conscience, to make good what he had already assented unto before any mention of new instructions came to him, and what he had done being pursuant to his former instructions, and in his judgment for the advantage and good of England.

He was also willing to persuade himself that the new instructions would extend only to the order of his return, and was so to be taken by Thurloe's letter, and to the close of his whole negotiation; wherein he had done nothing, and resolved not to do anything, but what he believed to be just and honest. He was also troubled lest the Queen should put off the treaty upon some distaste about the secret article, and yet pretend only the absence of her Chancellor; but Whitelocke left all to the providence of God, and His blessing upon honest and diligent means, wherein he resolved not willingly to be wanting. And whether to put it off or to proceed to the despatch of it seemed the more difficult, because of a letter from his wife, wherein she wrote that Thurloe said to her, that it was fit her husband should receive certain instructions what to do before his coming away, because, if he should do anything too suddenly, without good warrant, it might cost him his life. This indeed were a worthy and meet recompense for all the hardships, perils, and faithful services undergone and performed for those who were then in power; but his hope and expectation of reward was from above the highest of them.

April 21, 1654.

Despatches
to Thurloe.

Whitelocke made his despatches for England, and part of his letters to Thurloe was this:—

“The Queen and Court being out of town, this is a solitary place. The Danish Ambassador and the Dutch Resident are still here. The Spanish, German, and Muscovite Envoys are gone away. My business remains in a readiness to be signed, which is appointed upon the Queen’s return; and she is looked for every day. If they be not signed within these few days, it cannot be done by her at all, because she intends to resign the Government the beginning of May, and perhaps the Prince may be crowned in June; and two or three months after that will pass before new credentials can be sent from his Highness, and it may be two or three months in ceremony and despatch of the business, by which time another winter will be here.

“Upon which considerations I humbly conceive it much more for the service of my Lord to despatch my business here out of hand, and the rather because of the conclusion of the Dutch treaty, which I hope will prove very prosperous to our nation.

“My articles had been signed before the Queen’s going away but that she was willing to communicate them to the Prince before her Commissioners signed them, which I likewise thought very fit to be done, in regard he is so near the succession; and I likewise intend to salute him from my Lord Protector before my going out of this country.

“I am now only in expectation of his Highness’s further commands and instructions concerning my return, which I hope for by the next post.

“I give you most hearty thanks for the papers, which are not only a comfort but very useful to me here. I received formerly from you a copy of the Dutch articles, and if I did not return you thanks for them, I confess I forgot myself, and likewise if in one of my letters I did not acquaint you that the Queen had an intention (as she told

me) of sending a congratulatory letter to my Lord the Protector ; but how the direction of it was I know not, because I never saw it ; but I take it as a particular favour to me, that his Highness was pleased to receive it, though it were not as it ought to have been, wherein he hath answered the respect of the Queen, who excepted against my credentials, but yet received them.

“ I am exceeding glad of your good conclusion of the Dutch business, which, I am persuaded, will be of great advantage to our nation ; and I look upon the issue of my business here being agreed before the issue of our treaty with the Dutch was known, to be both a particular respect to the Protector and Government, and less difficult than it would have been if transacted after our agreement with the Dutch.

“ They are much amused in these parts at our gallant fleet, and so early at sea ; and I permit them all their conjectures, neither have they gained much allay of them from me by their inquisitiveness.

“ I had a compliment sent me the last night from the Dutch Resident, that he hoped ere long to have an opportunity to come and visit me ; I answered, that I should not be wanting in that civility which became me.

“ I was entreated by the citizens of Stockholm to receive this suit of theirs in the enclosed paper.

“ B. W.

“ *April 21, 1654. Upsal.*”

April 22, 1654.

The French Resident visited Whitelocke, and, seeing him ready to go take the air, offered him his company, which Whitelocke could not refuse. They went together to the Library of this University, where there are many good books, for the most part brought out of Germany ; but it is not extraordinary, nor exceeding the public libraries in England and elsewhere. One

University
Library at
Upsal

of Whitelocke's gentlemen held it not exceeding his lord's private library at his own house in England, as he affirmed to some of the scholars here, who were not pleased therewith, nor would easily believe that the English Ambassador's library in his private house was to be compared to that of their University.

The keeper of this library is one Doctor Lovenius, there present, a learned and civil person, who hath published several books in print, touching the laws and government and antiquities of his country, in good Latin; and both himself and his works are worthy of esteem. He was attending upon Whitelocke all the time of his being in the library and in the public places of the University, and informed him of such things as he inquired touching the same; and, to gratify their civility, Whitelocke sent them twenty of his own books which he had in his house, all of them English authors, as the Primate of Armagh's works, Sir Henry Spelman, Selden, and others; which was a present very acceptable, and kindly received by the University from him.

University
of Upsal.

They affirm this University to be very ancient; but there are no colleges or public houses for the maintenance of the scholars, or public revenue belonging to them; so that they do not live together in bodies or companies by themselves, but every one severally as he can agree or find for his convenience. But here are divers public rooms or schools where the professors and scholars use to meet and perform their exercises openly; and the rooms of their library are three, about twenty foot square apiece.

There are all sorts of professors for the arts and sciences, who are promised good salaries, but they com-

plain that they are not well paid; and though some of them be very learned, yet they take not much pains; it may be according to the proverb, "mal payé mal servi"—he that is ill paid doth but ill service. Some counted the number of scholars to be about three hundred, which is not more than may be found in one college in England. They make great preparation by printing their theses and publishing them, and inviting the grantees to their disputations, where the Queen in person is sometimes present, though the exercise is only the art of well disputing, except in some of their professors and eminent persons.

Their University is a kind of corporation, like others, their want of supplies not affording them so much perfection, and their defect of government giving them liberty and temptation to disorder, to which they are much addicted; but in their sermons, whilst the English were among them, they would propose them as a pattern of civility and pious conversation. Their government is by a Chancellor, who at present is the Ricks-Chancellor; and it hath constantly been in the hands of some eminent and great person.

Whitelocke and the Resident visited the Cathedral Church, which is fair and large, built with brick, and covered with copper. They affirm it to be one of the most ancient churches of Europe, and that the Gospel was here early planted, but earlier in the church of old Upsal, which is of a quadrangular form, and formerly dedicated to their heathen gods. Their cathedral, they say, was the seat of an arch-flamen; and in the places of arch-flamens and flamens, upon their conversion to Christianity (as in England, so here), bishops and archbishops were instituted; and now

Cathedral
of Upsal.

their cathedral, as other churches, is full of images, crucifixes, and such other furniture as the Lutheran churches tolerate, and is little different therein from the Popish churches.

The Resident and Whitelocke took also a view of the castle and city of Upsal. The castle is near the town, seated upon the point of a hill; it is built of brick, plastered over, strong and beautiful. If it had been finished, the design was to have had it four-square; but two sides of it only are built. It had been very large and noble if it had been perfected. As it is, it contains many rooms, and sufficient for the Court; some of them are great and stately, but up two stories, after the fashion of that country. If it had been finished, it would have equalled any other, if not the castle of Stockholm itself.

Environs of
Upsal.

The prospect from the castle is very beautiful; the country round about it pleasant and fruitful, and distinguished into meadows, pastures, and arable fields, and the river Sale passing through them, which loseth itself about half a league from thence into a great lake. The river is navigable with boats of about twenty or thirty tons, many leagues together, going through the lake also; it is not muddy, nor unfurnished with the fish of those parts, and is about half as broad as the Thames at Henley. It runs at the foot of the hill on which the castle stands, and the town is built upon it; and it waters most part of the streets, to their great commodity. It is for this reason called Upsal, because Ubbo—who, they say, was the son of Gomer, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah—this Ubbo built this town upon the river Sale, and therefore called it, after his own name, Ubbo Sale, by contraction of speech

now called Upsal. All agree it to be one of the most ancient of their cities, the metropolitan see of their archbishop, and in old time the residence of their kings, and where they were invested with the regal dignity. The country about it seemed one of the most pleasant and fruitful of these parts. The town itself is not much beautified with stately buildings, not above nine or ten houses being built with brick ; the rest of them, after the fashion of their country, built with great bodies of fir-trees, and covered with turf ; the fairest of their brick houses was that where the English Ambassador lodged.

This city hath not much trade, and therefore not much wealth. The government of it is according to the municipal law of the country, and as other cities are ; their head officer is a Burgomaster, who hath for his assistants a council, in the nature of the common councils in our corporations in England, consisting of the principal burgesses and inhabitants of the city, who have power, with the Burgomaster, as to making of ordinances, and in the government.

In their journey to take the air the Resident and Whitelocke had much discourse touching the images in their church, and about the observation of their Sabbath ; wherein the Resident was furnished with the usual arguments of the Papists, and was answered by Whitelocke, and was not so positive as most of his persuasion use to be. He discoursed also about the Dutch treaty in England, to get from Whitelocke what he could to report to the Danish Ambassador and Dutch Resident ; for which he was fitted by Whitelocke's answers to him.

April 23, 1654.

Whitelocke
punishes
two of his
retinue for
neglect of
the Lord's
Day.

This being the Lord's Day, many gentlemen of the English and Scots nation then in town came to Whitelocke's house to the morning sermon, and most of them staid the afternoon sermon also. And so many strangers being there attentive in the holy duties, it gave the greater cause of scandal and offence to Whitelocke that divers of his own family were absent, whereas, by his orders, they were all enjoined to a constant attendance, especially at those religious exercises; nevertheless some of them (particularly Mr. Castle and Andrew Potley) were therein more in fault than others, and, after many admonitions, would not reform, but made it their common practice almost every Lord's Day in the afternoon to be absent, and to go abroad and take the air. Whitelocke considering the reproach and scandal, and the ill example hereby to his family, and the doing of that by some of them against which he had spoken so much here to the people of this place, upon which it would be collected that either he had not the power over his own people to order them as he judged fit, or else that he and the rest of his company were dissemblers, and found fault with that in others which they either acted or tolerated in themselves;—Whitelocke finding two absent on this day, he gave order to his steward to see their trunks and goods carried out of his house, and themselves dismissed of further attendance on him, and removed from his family. Yet afterwards, upon the interceding of others for them, and their own submission, the punishment was suspended; and when they perceived that Whitelocke was in earnest,

it caused a reformation, both in those two and in others, as to this duty and in other particulars.

About nine o'clock this evening the Queen came to town. She had in her train but one coach with six horses, and three horsemen; so little ceremony did she observe as to her own port, but would rather make this sudden and private return than break her word with Whitelocke, whom in a compliment she had promised to be here again within a few days; and she kept her word honourably and constantly. But Whitelocke was sorry that she continued her old custom, too frequent here, of travelling upon the Lord's Day.

The Queen
returns to
Upsal.

April 24, 1654.

Whitelocke waited on the Queen to give her the welcome home, and found her lodgings changed, leaving the better rooms for the Prince. She excused her long stay out of town, and said she would now have no more delay in his business, but it should be forthwith despatched. Whitelocke told her that the Chancellor and his son were not yet come to town, but he humbly thanked her Majesty for the speed of her return. She assured him that her Chancellor and his son would be in town the next day, and that she should not have come to town so soon but for his business; that the day after her Chancellor's coming the articles might be signed. She likewise discoursed with him about the secret article, that in case those here should not perform justly with her, that then the Protector should not be bound by this treaty. Whitelocke told her that Woolfeldt and he had conference

Whitelocke
pays his
court to the
Queen.

about it, and had fully considered it, and were both of opinion that it would be unfit for her Majesty to make such an article, and it might turn to her prejudice; but Whitelocke said, that if she pleased to write to the Protector, and to leave her letters with Whitelocke to procure an answer from his Highness to her Majesty, whereby his care for her good and assistance to her might appear, and the letter to be fit to be shown, it might be of more advantage to her than such a secret article, to which he was not empowered to assent, but it must be remitted to the Protector; and whether he would consent to it in that way or not, was doubtful; and when it should be known to those here, it would be distasteful. Upon this the Queen seemed fully satisfied as to the secret article to be laid aside and not more thought on.

Whitelocke advised her as formerly touching her liberty, and not long continuing here after her resignation; and she thanked him for his advice, and said, that in case those here should not deal justly with her, she hoped she should find the Protector a friend to her, and that she did put herself upon his nobleness and friendship. Whitelocke told her, that the Protector was a great lover and maintainer of justice and honour, and had a particular affection to her Majesty, which he believed she would find him ready to manifest upon this or any other occasion, and find him a true friend to her; wherewith (poor lady!) she seemed much comforted, having brought her affairs to so low an ebb as this was, and thus high was the Protector's reputation here. As to the general business of the treaty with Whitelocke, she said it would be fit to have the articles signed tomorrow, and that

Whitelocke soon after should have his audience, and she would give order to have it done accordingly.

She asked Whitelocke if he would bear her company to take the air, which he did ; and she riding a horse managed to the great saddle, who was troublesome, she came into her coach, and caused Whitelocke to sit in the same boot with her, that they might discourse the more privately. There were also in her coach the Senator Rosenhau, Grave Tott, and Steinberg.

The Queen freely told Whitelocke that if he would not sell his horses, as she understood he would not, that yet she should take it for a favour if he would let her have one of his sets of coach-horses, which would do her great service in her intended journey, they being fitter for travel than any she had. Whitelocke told her they were all at her Majesty's service ; that he thought it not becoming him to sell them, but if she pleased to accept them, she should freely have them ; that he thought his black horses fittest for her and best, and there were eight of them, and the other set he intended to present unto the Princee ; that, she said, would be very well, and she kindly thanked him and accepted of his compliment.

Whitelocke
presents his
black horses
to the
Queen,

Whitelocke also told the Queen that he had a small cabinet of glasses of spirits of waters, essences of excellent kinds, extracted ; but he believed that her Majesty did not much esteem such things, and they were too inconsiderable to make a present of them to the Queen-mother, if she had any liking of them. The Queen said her mother was much pleased with such essences, and that she would send them to her from Whitelocke. He asked when he should bring them,

some dis-
tilled
waters,

and an English Bible which he promised to the Queen. She said, tomorrow if he pleased, and that at all times he should be welcome to her.

April 25, 1654.

Grave Eric sent his secretary to Whitelocke to inform him of his being come to town purposely for the despatch of his business, and for the signing of the articles; and he desired to know what time this afternoon he might have the liberty to come and visit Whitelocke, after he had been with the Queen. Whitelocke told the secretary that he should be glad to see his lord after Whitelocke had likewise been at the Court; and there they met.

Whitelocke went in to the Queen and presented her with the cabinet of essences, which was of green velvet, lined with silver lace very richly; within it were about twenty glasses of spirits of the rarest kinds, each glass stopped with a silver head of English silver, to screw off and on, and a lock and key of the same; and opening the cabinet the Queen smelt of most of the glasses, but tasted none of them; she highly commended them and the cabinet, especially the English silver, whereof she had some discourse, and said she would send them to her mother, who would be very glad of them.

and an English Bible;

Then according to his promise he presented her Majesty with an English Bible, of a very fair print and richly bound; and upon that they had this discourse:—

Whitelocke. If your Majesty would be pleased to spend some time in reading this Bible, and comparing it with those in other languages, it would be a great

help to your understanding of the English, if your Majesty have any further thoughts thereof.

Queen. My desire still is to gain the English tongue, and I think this which you mention will be a good way to learn it. I ask your pardon that you staid so long before you came in to me; nobody told me of your being without, and I am ashamed of this incivility.

Wh. The incivility, Madam, is on my side, by interrupting your greater affairs; but I come not now as an ambassador, but as a particular servant to bring this Bible to your Majesty.

Qu. It is a noble present, and there was the less reason to make you stay for admittance with it.

Wh. This book was presented to me by an English doctor, with a letter mentioning the text that the Beræans were accounted the more noble because they received the word with gladness, as I hope your Majesty will. and exhorts her Majesty to read it.

Qu. I receive it from you with much thankfulness, and shall gladly make use of it as the best of books.

Wh. Your Majesty, by often reading it, and comparing it with other Bibles, will not only thereby gain advantage as to the language, but the highest comfort to your soul.

Qu. I have used to read much in the Bible, and take great contentment in it.

Wh. Your Majesty will find more contentment and comfort in the study of this book than of all other books whatsoever, and therefore I do humbly recommend the often reading of it to your Majesty.

Qu. I doubt you have an ill opinion of me that you so earnestly persuade me to this, as if you thought me too backward in it.

Wh. I only give my humble advice to your Majesty, out of my own experience, of the great comfort, wisdom, and true pleasure which is to be met with in this book, and nowhere else, and that all things out of it are of no value.

Qu. I am full of the same opinion; but there are too many who have not so venerable an opinion of it as they ought to have.

Wh. There are indeed, Madam, too many who mock at this book, and at God himself, whose book it is; but these poor worms will one day know that God will not be mocked, and that they and their reproaches will sadly perish together; and I am glad to hear your Majesty's distaste of such wicked ones.

Qu. Surely every good Christian ought to distaste such men and such opinions.

They had much more discourse upon the same subject, wherein Whitelocke spake the more, because he found the Queen more inclined to it now than he had perceived her to be at other times.

Being come from the Queen, he spake with Grave Eric in another room, whose opinion was that it would be fit to sign the articles on the morrow, and said that his father would be returned time enough to do it. Whitelocke doubted that, by reason of his weariness after his journey, it might not be then convenient. Eric replied, that there would be nothing to be done that would occasion trouble, the signing and putting the seals to the articles already prepared and agreed on was all that was to be done. Whitelocke demanded if the power given by the Queen to her Commissioners were sealed. Eric said it was not, but that Canterstein would be in town this evening, and would see all done.

April 26, 1654.

Grave Eric came to Whitelocke's house, and this discourse passed between them :—

Whitelocke
complains
of further
delays.

Whitelocke. It seems to me somewhat strange that after all things agreed between her Majesty's Commissioners and me, I should yet attend three weeks to obtain one half-hour for the signing of the articles.

Grave Eric. The Queen's going out of town hath occasioned it, and the great business touching her resignation, which hath so taken up all men's thoughts and counsels, that there hath been hardly room left for any other matter ; and when the Queen goes away, those of the Council also take the liberty to go into the country ; and upon such extraordinary changes as these are, it is no strange thing for public ministers to be retarded ; and the same thing hath been practised upon your changes in England.

Wh. I have not observed, either in England or elsewhere, that after an agreement upon a treaty, and nothing remaining but to sign and seal, that they have used afterwards to delay it three weeks together ; yet I am willing to promise myself that the servant of the Protector may expect from this Crown as much respect as any other public minister.

Gr. Eric. There hath been more respect showed to you than hath been accustomed to any other. I believe your business may be despatched in half an hour ; and if my father return this evening time enough to do it, it may be done this night ; if not, then without fail tomorrow morning.

Wh. I am the more earnest herein, looking upon it as my duty to the Protector and my respect to this

Crown, to avoid any occasion of discontent between the two nations ; and therefore I shall freely tell you that it will be very material to have the articles signed this day or tomorrow, before I receive this week's letters, by which I expect to understand that the articles between England and Holland are signed ; among which articles one is, that neither the one nor the other confederate shall make any alliance with any other prince or state, without first giving notice thereof to the other confederate. Now if the articles between the Protector and the Queen be signed before I have notice of this by the Dutch articles being signed, the signing of our articles here first will be without exception in this point ; but if I receive this information from England before the articles be signed here, it will be doubtful whether then I shall be in a capacity afterwards to sign the articles here, whereupon sundry inconveniences will ensue, which I would willingly prevent.

Gr. Eric. This is indeed a material point, and I am much startled at it. I shall go and see if my father be come to town, that I may acquaint him with it, and doubtless the business may be finished tomorrow.

Wh. What do you resolve to do in the matter I proposed touching Guinea ?

Gr. Eric. The person concerned in that business is now in town ; I shall bring him to you to give you information therein, and upon speaking together we may come to some conclusion in it. I think the best way will be to prepare an article to this purpose, that all injuries done by the one or the other party in the several plantations in Guinea, and the satisfaction and

damages to be given to the parties grieved, be upon the whole matter remitted to the consideration and arbitrement of persons to be chosen, as well by the company of English merchants trading to those parts as of the merchants of this country having interest in the plantations there.

W^h. I think this may be a good expedient for this business ; and I shall rather submit to it than depart from hence, without any agreement at all, to have this matter, either now or at some other time, to be taken into consideration ; and therefore if you please to direct an article to be drawn up to the effect proposed by yourself, and to send it to me to be perused, I shall be willing to consent to any reasonable settlement of this business ; so as my countrymen, the English merchants interested in that plantation, may have no cause to believe that I have neglected what was specially recommended to me on their behalf, and that my superiors may see my care in this as well as in other matters.

In the evening Monsieur Bloome sent word to Whitelocke that the Chancellor was come to town, and that Canterstein was expected this night.

Presently Whitelocke sent to the Chancellor to know how he did after his journey, and when he might have the liberty to visit him. The Chancellor answered that he was well, and purposed this evening or tomorrow morning to go to the Queen, and afterwards he would send to Whitelocke to let him know what time they might meet to finish his business. This seemed to Whitelocke a little different from the ordinary rules of civility—that when he sent to the Chancellor to know at what time he might come to

him, the Chancellor answered that his purpose was to go to the Queen ; but Whitelocke hoped that the intent was to receive her Majesty's direction in his business.

April 27, 1654.

Signing the
articles
again de-
ferred till
the mor-
row.

Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke from the Chancellor to tell him that the Chancellor was come to town purposely for the signing of the articles. Whitelocke said he was much obliged to the Chancellor for so great a favour, and that, after three weeks elapsed since the articles were agreed, he might now hope it would be thought seasonable to confirm that agreement with hand and seal. Lagerfeldt answered that it might be done this day, and therefore he came to Whitelocke that his secretary might meet with the Queen's secretary, and they together might examine the books, which in the evening may be signed and sealed by both parties.

Whitelocke. Hath Monsieur Canterstein procured the Queen's patent to authorize her Commissioners to conclude this treaty ?

Lagerfeldt. It must be done before the signing of the articles, and then you may have your audience when your Excellence pleaseth.

Wh. It were fit to have that done.

Lag. I know not whether the presents which her Majesty intends to make to your Excellence and your company be yet ready ; and I know the Queen intends to express as much honour to you as she hath done to any ambassador whatsoever.

Wh. I desire no greater honour than the despatch of my business, and liberty to return home.

Lag. I shall serve your Excellence therein to the utmost of my power.

In the afternoon Whitelocke sent his son James and his secretary Earle, and Swift, with the articles and papers touching his business, unto Canterstein, where they examined them and corrected what was mistaken. They asked at what hour Whitelocke might repair to the Chancellor for signing the articles. Canterstein answered, that the Chancellor was weary with his journey; but he went to him and brought word that, if Whitelocke would come to the Chancellor about five or six o'clock this evening, he would be ready to confer with him. This being reported to Whitelocke by his son, he sent him back to Canterstein to know whether the Queen had sealed the grant of power to her Commissioners, who brought word that it was not done, and that the Queen went out of town this evening, and returned not till tomorrow.

After this message, and when Whitelocke saw that his letters of this week were not come, he sent to the Chancellor to let him know that he feared it might be troublesome to him for Whitelocke to come to him this evening, and that, if he pleased, Whitelocke would come to him the next morning. To which the Chancellor willingly agreed, and appointed their meeting tomorrow, betwixt eight and nine o'clock in the morning. The Chancellor inquired whether Whitelocke had yet received his letters from England. The servant of Whitelocke said that the letters were not yet come, but that by the last week's letters the news came that the peace between England and Holland was certainly concluded; to which the Chancellor said, I desire to be excused.

By these passages Whitelocke perceived that their little design was, notwithstanding all he had endeavoured, that before they would sign the articles they desired to see this week's letters; which he took as directed by the good hand of Providence, in regard that by this means he should be the more excused in what he intended to do, having staid for this week's letters and received none, and the politicians here would be deceived in their expectation. He wondered at the Queen's going out of town before she sealed the commission to her deputies: some thought the reason to be, because her intended presents were not yet ready.

Whitelocke received a letter from the Protector's Resident at Hamburg, wherein this was part:—

"For his Excellence my Lord Ambassador Whitelocke, Extraordinary Ambassador from England with the Queen of Sweden. Humbly these.

"The English letters are not yet come, but from Holland they write that two expresses were come on the 21st instant, with letters assuring that the peace was concluded and mutually signed, and that, as soon as the ratification could arrive in England from the States General, hostility should cease.

"I am, my Lord,

"With tender of my humble service,

"Your Excellence's most humble servant,

"R^I. BRADSHAWE.

"Hamburg, 15th April, 1654."

Whitelocke made use of this intelligence as far as it would go; and some others in this town had the same news from Holland.

April 28, 1654.

At the time appointed Whitelocke and his company came to the Chancellor's lodging, with whom was his son Grave Eric and Secretary Canterstein. Whitelocke's son James and his secretary Earle were admitted into the room. All the time of their being there Secretary Canterstein was uncovered and did not sit. Whitelocke's son James was also bare, as became him, but was admitted to sit down at the lower end of the table, on the same side with his father, who sat at the upper end, and the Chancellor over-against him, and Grave Eric by his father. The signing of the treaty.

The Chancellor acquainted Whitelocke that the Queen had shown the articles to the Prince, who did well approve of them, and desired to have a strict league and friendship with the Protector, and that the Prince was ready in what should appertain to him to contribute to that end. Whitelocke answered that the Protector would esteem the friendship of the Prince a great honour to him ; and to show his desire of it, that Whitelocke intended to salute the Prince from the Protector. The Chancellor and his son said that it would be very necessary for Whitelocke to do so, and that the Prince intended to come nearer to this city, and then Whitelocke might have the better passage to his Court by water by the lake Meter, than to go to him by a land-journey ; and that from the Prince he might, by the same lake, be transported to Stockholm.

After many ceremonies and compliments, with apologies for the delay of the sealing of the articles, they fell to their business. Grave Eric read the articles prepared by Whitelocke, and his father overlooked

them; Whitelocke's son James read the articles prepared by the Chancellor, and Whitelocke overlooked them; and some mistakes being amended, Whitelocke asked whether the Queen's commission to give them power were sealed. They answered, it was prepared, and that the Queen would seal it, and it was usual to be done at any time after the sealing of the articles; that yesterday it was not fully ready for the Queen before her going out of town, but that she intended to be here again this day, and all would be ready for her sealing.

The Chancellor directed Canterstein to read the copy of the instrument for giving power to the Queen's Commissioners, and desired Whitelocke to give to him the commission of the Protector to Whitelocke, who said that he had formerly delivered to them a copy of it, which was then read; and the Chancellor took exception to it, because there was no mention in it of ratifying what should be here agreed upon by Whitelocke; who answered that this clause of ratification was in his first commission under the Great Seal of England, unto which the commission and powers given him since by the Protector do refer; and he offered to deliver into their hands that commission under the Great Seal. And if they should require that Whitelocke might yet have a larger power, whereof he thought there was no need, (they might perceive by the Protector's letters that he would not scruple to give it,) Whitelocke said that he would take it upon him, at his return to England, to procure it to be done; but he said he could not leave with them the Protector's letters and instructions to him, because part of them was secret.

The Chancellor said it was the custom to deliver the original letters of power into the hands of the other party, that they might be registered in the public acts of the Chancery, and that Whitelocke should receive their commissions to carry with him into England; that if he would pass his word that, at his return to England, he would procure new and larger powers, and take care to send the letters of them hither from the Protector, they should be satisfied therewith: which Whitelocke promised to do, and desired that the Queen would ratify all that should be done here before her resignation, and keep the ratification by her until the Protector should seal letters of ratification on his part, and then they might be exchanged and mutually delivered. The Chancellor consented hereunto, and asked what seal the Protector used in these public businesses. Whitelocke said he used his own seal. The Chancellor asked if he did not use the seal of the Commonwealth, in regard that this league was between the Queen and kingdom of Sweden and the Protector and Commonwealth of England. Whitelocke said that the Protector might, if he pleased, command the seal of the Commonwealth to be affixed to the letters of ratification, which he believed would be done if they desired it; and that, by the same reason, it was fit that the letters of ratification here should be under the Great Seal of Sweden.

The Chancellor said that in Sweden, when the Government was in the hands of Commissioners, the King or Queen not being crowned, it was usual for some chief men, of alliance to the deceased King, to make use of his private seal, and of no other; that if

this treaty were with the Poles or Danes, or others, that being wanting in their letters which was in Whitelocke's, he would not proceed any further with them until they should procure a fuller power and commission; and he said he had been present at many treaties which had been broken off upon a less defect than appeared in Whitelocke's letters. But in regard their business was with the Protector, whom the Queen and himself did so much honour and had so great a confidence in him, and upon Whitelocke's promise to procure such a power as they desired to be enlarged to him from the Protector, the Chancellor said they were ready to confirm the articles with their seals. Whitelocke took upon him what they desired, and then the Chancellor and his son Eric sealed that part of the articles which Whitelocke had prepared, and Whitelocke sealed the other part of the articles which had been prepared by the Chancellor and his son Grave Eric.*

* The treaty thus signed ran in the following terms:—

Text of the
treaty.

" We whose names are subscribed, Axel Oxenstiern, Chancellor of the Kingdom and Provincial Judge of the West Norlanders, of Lapland, Heredalia, and Jemptia, Earl of South Morea, free Baron in Kimitho, Lord in Tiholme and Tydoen, Knight of the Golden Spur; and Eric Oxenstiern, son of Axel, General President of the College of Trade, Earl of South Morea, free Baron in Kimitho, Lord in Tydoen, Viby, and Gorwallen, Senators of the Kingdom of Sweden, and Plenipotentiary Commissioners of the most Serene and most Potent Prince and Lady the Lady Christina, by the grace of God Queen of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, Great Prince of Finland, Duke of Esthonia, Carelia, Bremen, Veherden, Stettin, Pomerland, Cassubia and Vandalia, Prince of Rugia, and Lady of Ingria and of Wismar; do make known and testify that formerly there hath been a great amity between the Swedish and English nations, for which, to renew and increase the profit of it, it very well happened that the most illustrious and most excellent Lord Bulstrode Whitelocke, Constable of Windsor Castle, and at this time one of the

The Queen's Commissioners insisted to have the date of these articles 11th of April, because then they were fully agreed, and the time after was for engross-

Keepers of the Great Seal of England, being sufficiently authorized to treat of the following affairs, came to the S.R.M. our Lady, by commandment and in the name of Oliver, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Ambassador Extraordinary from these countries and of the aforesaid Commonwealth. The same also our most S.R.M. hath benignly commanded us, who have the same and sufficient power, that after we should have considered with the aforesaid Lord Ambassador about the things which would be judged the most convenient to establish the liberty of commerce and navigation, and to corroborate the mutual amity in this time, that some certain things should be determined and written in form of articles of mutual alliance.

"Therefore we, after a good deliberation together, agreed touching the affairs hereafter written, as they are by these following laws which are in this treaty, and by their clear words and without difficulty expressed. That is:—

"1. That hereafter there be a good, sincere, firm peace and correspondence between the Queen and Kingdom of Sweden and the Lord Protector and the aforesaid Commonwealth, and between all and every one of the dominions, kingdoms, countries, provinces, islands, lands, colonies, towns, peoples, citizens, inhabitants, and all and every one of the subjects of either of the party, so that they may mutually embrace in entire love and affection.

"2. The aforesaid confederates and subjects, people and inhabitants of either, shall, when occasion shall be presented, advance the common profit, and shall, if they know of any imminent danger or conspiracy or machination of the enemies, admonish one another, and shall hinder them as much as lies in their power. Neither shall it be permitted to any of the confederates to do or treat by him, or by any other whatsoever, to the prejudice or damage of the lands and dominions of either, whatsoever they be, or in whatsoever place, either by sea or land. The enemies or rebels or adversaries shall in nowise be suffered, neither shall the rebels or traitors who undertake under the State of the other be received in his countries, and shall much less give them counsel, aid, or favour, nor shall admit that his subjects, people, or inhabitants should do anything like.

"3. The Queen and Kingdom aforesaid and the Lord Protector and Commonwealth aforesaid shall, as much as in them lies, endeavour to take care, with all candour and affection, to remove all the

ing and preparing them to be signed and sealed ; and Whitelocke did not oppose their desire herein.

Thus, after a long and intricate (it might be said

hindrances which hitherto have interrupted the liberty of navigation and commerce between both the nations, as much in the dominions, lands, seas, and rivers of either of the confederates with other people and nations. They shall also endeavour to advance and defend the liberty of navigation and commerce against all sorts of disturbers for the reasons agreed upon in this treaty, or upon which hereafter they may agree, nor shall suffer, either through themselves, their subjects, or people, any offence to be committed or done against this institution.

“ 4. For it is consented and agreed that the inhabitants and subjects of the aforesaid confederates be free to travel by sea or land into the kingdoms, countries, provinces, lands, islands, towns, cities, villages, walled or unwalled, fortified or no, ports, dominions whatsoever freely, or without safe-conduct, general or special, to go and thence to return, and thence to stay or pass over, and all the while to buy victuals and things necessary for their use, and are to be treated with all benevolence. And also it shall be lawful for the subjects, citizens, and inhabitants of either of the confederates to exercise merchandise and commerce in all places wherein any commerce hath hitherto been exercised, and the same merchandise may be carried in or forth according to their pleasure, paying nevertheless the usual tax, and observing the laws and ordinances of the aforesaid Kingdom and Commonwealth ; supposing on both sides that the people, subjects, and inhabitants of either of the confederates shall have and possess in the countries, lands, dominions, and kingdom of the other as full and ample privileges, and as much freedom, liberty, and immunity, as any stranger possesseth, or shall possess, in the said dominions and kingdoms.

“ 5. The merchants, masters of ships, pilots, seamen, and others, their ships, merchandise, and all goods in general of the said confederates and their subjects and inhabitants, shall not be apprehended or detained in the lands, ports, shores, harbours, or dominions whatsoever in alliance with the other, for any public use, expedition of war, or other cause, much less for any private man's use by virtue of any edict, general or special ; neither shall they be molested or constrained by violence or injury or anything of that kind : provided that arrests be not prohibited if they are made according to the ordinary form of law, justice, and equity ; they shall not neglect the punishment of any for private affection.

vexatious) transaction of this great affair for near five months together, all bitter oppositions, cunning practices, and perplexed difficulties being removed and

“6. And if one or more ships of the subjects, citizens, or inhabitants, be they of war or of burden and private men's, shall be forced by tempests, or pursued by pirates and enemies, or any urgent necessity to the harbour or shores of the other confederate, and be forced to call for protection, they shall be received there with all benignity, humanity, and friendship, and at no time to be hindered, and all victual, reparation, and things fit for use at the ordinary price; they shall not be prohibited to depart or go out of the port or harbour by any pretence whatsoever, as long as they have not committed anything against the statutes, ordinances, and custom of the place where their ships are brought and where they shall sojourn.

“7. Likewise, if one ship or more of war or of private men of the other confederate, and of the subjects and inhabitants, shall be shipwrecked or cast on the coast of the dominions of the other confederate, or for the future may suffer detriment, they may be relieved and helped at a price agreed on, so that whatsoever shall be saved from the shipwreck shall be preserved and restored to the true owner or his factor.

“8. And if the subjects and inhabitants of the other confederate, whether they be merchants, their factors, servants, masters of ships, pirates, seamen, or others, have occasion to travel into the dominions of the other confederate, or if anything shall come in their name before a court of justice, or suits for their debts, or for, any other lawful reason wherein they may need the help of the magistrate; in these things he shall be benign and ready for equity's sake, and shall administer justice without delay or unnecessary circumstances, and they shall not be hindered in their journey by any pretence, but whithersoever they go are to be used friendly, and shall have the liberty either in going or returning to carry and wear arms for their private defence, and to walk into the harbours, seaports, and in any public place of the other confederate armed; provided they give no occasion of just suspicion to the governors or magistrates of any place of any design against the public or private peace, but chiefly they are to behave themselves modestly, and to live without any injury.

“9. It is lawful for the foresaid confederates and both their people to buy and export out of any of their countries, dominions, and kingdoms, all sorts of arms and provision of war, and freely and safely to carry their ships into what ports, stations, and har-

overcome, through the goodness and assistance of the only wise Counsellor, the Prince of Peace, it pleased Him to give a good issue and happy success in the

bours of the other confederate they please, and there to sojourn and from thence to go; and they are to carry themselves modestly, peaceably, and conform to all the laws and customs of the place, and they may trade there without any hindrance; likewise the ships of war have free leave to come to the ports, havens, and stations of the other confederates. But nevertheless, if there be a manifest suspicion in their number, they may forbid their access, without they have obtained leave of the confederate in whose ports they are (unless they are drawn in by tempests, or force, or danger, or chief magistrate), and are not to stay longer than the governor or chief magistrate will give them leave.

"10. It shall be lawful for the subjects and inhabitants of the kingdom of Sweden to travel into all the countries of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and likewise to pass beyond land or sea, and other people that commerce with them, to exercise trade in all kind of merchandise, and to bring them thither and carry thence at their pleasure. The people of the aforesaid Commonwealth shall enjoy the same liberty in the kingdoms, dominions, and territories of the Queen and kingdom of Sweden, but upon condition that they shall observe the respective laws, ordinances, and particular rights of both nations, and of those things which concern the traffic.

"11. Although it be prohibited by the former articles of this league and friendship, that neither of the confederates shall give aid or assistance to the enemies of the other, nevertheless it is no way to be understood that it is denied to the confederate and his subjects and people who is not in war to have commerce and navigation with the enemies of that confederate who is in war: provided only in the meantime, until it may be more fully agreed upon, all laws hereunto pertaining, that none of those commodities called contraband (of which a special designation or catalogue shall be agreed upon within four months from this time) shall be carried to the enemies of either, upon peril that if they be found out by the other confederate, they shall be taken as prize without hope of restitution.

"12. But lest this free navigation or passage by land or sea with other nations, of the one confederate, his subjects, or people, during the war of the other confederate, should be a deceit to the other confederate, and may conceal commodities and hostile goods by deceit, pretending the name of a friend, for that reason, to remove

conducting of this treaty by him who accounts his great labour and hazards in this transaction well bestowed, and humbly prays that this treaty may prove

suspicion and fraud, it is thought fit that the ships, waggons, merchandises, and men belonging to one of the confederates, in their journeys and navigations shall be armed with letters of safe-conduct, commonly called passports and certificates, which shall be signed by the chief governor or magistrate of the province or city from whence they come, and in all them those forms to be observed which shall be agreed upon within the space of four months next ensuing; but where the merchandises, goods, shipping, and men of one of the confederates, or of his subjects or people, in the open sea, straits, ports, stations, lands, and places whatsoever, shall be met with by the ships of war, public or private, or by the men, subjects, and people of the other confederate, or by any means shall be in one place together, then exhibiting only their letters of safe-conduct and certificates, nothing shall be further required of them, nor inquired of them, nor inquiry made as to their goods, shipping, or men any further, much less shall any injury, damage, or trouble be offered to them, but, as is before signified, they shall be freely dismissed to proceed in their intended journey. And in case anything be done by either party contrary to the genuine sense of this article, either of the confederates shall cause severe punishment to be inflicted upon those who shall do contrary hereunto, their subjects and people, and shall take care that satisfaction be made without delay to the other grieved confederate, or his subjects and people, fully of all their losses and expenses.

"13. Also, if it shall fall out hereafter during this friendship and league, that any of the people and subjects of either of the confederates shall take part with, or design anything against this league, the agreement between the aforesaid confederates shall not thereby be interrupted or dissolved, but nevertheless shall continue and wholly remain; but those particular persons only who have broken this league shall be punished, and right and justice shall be administered to those who have received injury, and satisfaction shall be made of all damages and wrong within a twelvemonth's time after restitution demanded. And if the foresaid delinquents and persons guilty of the violence committed shall not yield themselves and submit to justice, or within the prefixed time shall refuse to make satisfaction, they, whosoever they are, shall at length be proclaimed enemies to both States, and their estates, goods, and whatsoever things they have shall be confiscated and sold for a just and full

to the honour of God, the interest of the Protestant cause, and the good of both nations therein concerned.

April 29, 1654.

White-
locke's
passport
through
Flanders.

Though Whitelocke received no letters this week from England, yet he had some from Hamburg and

satisfaction of the wrongs by them done, and those offenders and guilty persons, where they shall come into the power of either State, shall suffer also deserved punishment according to the nature of their offence. But restitution and satisfaction for the losses and damages which either of the confederates hath suffered by the other during the war between England and the United Provinces of the Netherlands shall be made and afforded without delay to the party wronged, or to his subjects.

"14. The present treaty and confederation shall not at all derogate from the pre-eminence, right, and dominion whatsoever of either of the confederates in their seas, straits, and waters whatsoever; but they shall have and retain the same to themselves in the same fullness as they have hitherto enjoyed the same, and of right belongs unto them.

"15. Whereas therefore it is the principal purpose of this league that the same freedom of navigation and merchandising as is expressed in the former articles should be and remain to either confederate, his subjects and people, in the Baltic Sea, the Strait of the Sound, the Northern, Western, British, and Mediterranean Seas, and in the Channel and other seas of Europe, it shall therefore earnestly be endeavoured by common counsel, help, and assistance, that the fore-said mutual freedom of navigation and commerce shall be established and promoted in all the before-mentioned seas, and, if occasion require, shall be defended against disturbers who would interrupt it, prohibit, hinder, constrain, and force it to their own will and the injury of the confederates; and both the confederates shall willingly and mutually afford their goodwill and readiness to promote the benefit and to take away the prejudice of either of the confederates, always saving to either nation the leagues with other kingdoms, commonwealths, and nations which have been heretofore made and are in force; but neither of the confederates for the future shall make any league or alliance with any foreign people or nations whatsoever to any prejudice of this present mutual league, without the knowledge beforehand and consent of the other confederate; and

from Flanders, among which was one from Don Piementelle full of civility and compliment, giving Whitelocke notice of his safe arrival in Flanders, and advising him to take that way in his return; and in it was a letter in Spanish from Piementelle to the Prince of Mamines in Flanders, to be made use of by Whitelocke if he should have occasion there, for the more

if anything shall hereafter be agreed otherwise, it shall be void, and shall wholly give way to this mutual agreement; but of the manner of mutual aid or assistance to be given for defence of this league, and freedom of commerce and navigation, where it shall be necessary and reason shall require it, it shall be specially agreed upon according to the circumstances of time and all other things.

"16. Concerning other advantages to be enjoyed, and rules according to which the ships of war shall demean themselves which shall come into the ports or stations of the other confederate, of the trade to be had in America, also of the commodities of fishing for herrings and other fish whatsoever, of the staples and marts to be appointed for trade, and of other matters and conditions which may be required for the greater evidence of the former articles, as by a particular treaty and mutual contract shall be hereafter agreed.

"17. But those matters which we have agreed in the former articles shall forthwith from this moment of time obtain full force and be sincerely and rightly observed by either party, and by all who are under their obedience, faith, and command. And to the end that for the time to come they may be the more established, and remain firm as well by her Royal Majesty as also by the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the territories thereunto belonging, in the name of his Highness and the said Commonwealth, these presents, with the proper subscriptions of the hands of her Majesty and of his Highness, shall be subscribed, signed, and ratified.

"In confirmation of all these things which are above written, and for sufficient testimony thereof that on the part of her Royal Majesty our most clement Lady they shall be most religiously and fully observed, and be ratified within the time prefixed, we have subscribed these presents with our proper hands, and armed them with our seals. Dated at Upsal, the 11th day of April, in the year 1654.

"AXEL OXENSTIERN,

"ERIC OXENSTIERN AXELIUS."

safety and accommodation of his journey. This letter Whitelocke caused to be translated :—

“ Most excellent Sir,

“ My Lord Whitelocke, the Lord Ambassador Extraordinary of England, having finished his embassy in this Court, is resolved to return through this province, having passed from Hamburg to Cologne, and that he may go to Brussels with better security, he desires a passport from your Highness to the Lord Archduke. I, having written that it may be despatched, and added that it may be remitted to your Excellence, do entreat you to order that the said despatch may be delivered to the party whom the said Lord Ambassador shall send from Cologne for it; and that, he passing through this town, his Lordship, by his civil entertainment, may understand the favour your Excellence doth afford me, I owing to this honourable person many and singular respects, which I desire to manifest and acknowledge. I am confident your Excellence will assist me herein, and will be disposed to employ me in many services of yours in Madrid, whither I am commanded to go, by order from my Lord the King, and shall begin my journey within three or four days, by way of Brussels, where I hope to find your Excellence’s commands, which I assure you I shall esteem in all places and obey with the highest punctuality. God preserve your Excellence the many years of my desires.

“ Your Excellence’s greatest servant,

“ ANT^o PIMENTEL.”

In the letter which Whitelocke wrote to Thurloe, after an account of the passages since his last, he wrote thus :—

Report of
the signing
of the
treaty to
Thurloe.

“ Having received no letters by the post yesterday from England, I was contented to seal the articles of our treaty; for if but a few days should be intermitted, they could not have been signed at all, because upon Tuesday next

the Ricksdag, or Parliament here, is appointed to meet, and within two or three days after their meeting the Queen intends to resign her Government, and it will be some time after before the Prince be crowned. I shall have much to do to despatch the necessary ceremonies here of my public audience, to take my leave of the Queen, with the many visits I am to perform, according to the custom to which I am to conform, in regard of the honour of his Highness and our nation ; for he who neglects these ceremonies here is censured for a mechanic or a boor. I intend from hence to go to the Prince of Sweden, to salute him from my Lord Protector, as I am advised that the Prince expects and desires it. From thence I purpose to go to Stockholm, where I am to take ship for Lübeck ; and from thence to Hamburg, where I shall attend his Highness's further commands, or some ships to be sent for my transport into England, which I earnestly entreat you to procure in time.

"I hope, before my going from hence, to receive his Highness's order, which I long since wrote for, concerning my return ; but however, my business being effected here, I presume I may, without displeasure to his Highness, be upon my return homewards ; the rather, because upon the change which is shortly to be here my commission will be at an end.

"The Queen intends, shortly after her resignation, to go to the Spa, which I have cause to believe. In those parts they say the King of the Romans will wait upon her, but that I doubt.

"Her Majesty hath showed extraordinary affection and respect to my Lord Protector ; so hath the Chancellor and his son Grave Eric, and my Lord Lagerfeldt, etc."

Whitelocke waited on the Queen, and gave her an account of the signing and sealing of his articles ; whereupon she said :—

Queen. I am glad that this business is done to your satisfaction.

White-
locke's
interview
with the
Queen
after the
signing of
the treaty.

Whitelocke. There remains only your Majesty's sealing your letters of full power to your Commissioners who treated with me.

Qu. I sealed them this morning.

Wh. Then my humble suit is, that your Majesty would appoint a day for my audience to take my leave.

Qu. This is Saturday, but if you desire it you may have it on Friday next.

Wh. Would your Majesty's leisure permit to give me audience on Tuesday or Wednesday next, they being no holidays?

Qu. The Assembly is to sit on Tuesday, and at their first meeting I shall have a great deal of business with them, which will hinder me from any other affairs.

Wh. I humbly pray your Majesty to appoint it as soon as your own leisure will permit, for I shall have many businesses and ceremonies after it to perform, before my going away.

Qu. On Monday next I will appoint a day; and touching the secret article, about which I formerly discoursed with you, I have now altered my opinion, and am resolved to follow the advice that you and Mr. Woolfeldt have given me. I will write a letter under my own hand to the Protector to the effect you advised, and deliver it to you to be presented to him.

Wh. This will be much the better way.

Qu. I desire you to be careful of the letter; and before I seal it I will show it to you for your advice in it.

Wh. Madam, I shall have a special care of it, and to procure an answer of it from the Protector, I hope, to your Majesty's contentment, that you may make use of it if there shall be occasion; and I believe the Protector will be a firm friend to your Majesty.

Qu. I doubt it not, nor your respects to me.

Wh. I am engaged by your many favours to serve your Majesty with all faithfulness.

Qu. I had some clothes in a ship coming hither, and the ship is taken, and my clothes detained in England, so that I cannot get them to wear.

Wh. If your Majesty want clothes, I have a piece of English stuff at my house, which cost two shillings a yard; and, if that were not too dear for your Majesty's wearing, I would send it to you.

Qu. Two shillings a yard is dear enough for me: I pray send your stuff hither, and I shall willingly accept of it, and thank you for it.

Wh. Will your Majesty be pleased on Monday next to go into England?

Qu. Hardly so soon; yet perhaps I may one day see England. But what is your meaning in this?

Wh. Madam, Monday next is the first day of May, a great day in England; we call it May-day, when the gentlemen use to wait upon their mistresses abroad to bid the Spring welcome, and to have some collation or entertainment for them. Now your Majesty being my mistress, if you will do me the honour, that, after the custom of England, I may wait on you on May-day, and have a little treatment for you after the manner of England; this I call going into England, and shall take it as a very great favour from your Majesty.

Qu. If this be your meaning of going into England, I shall be very willing, as your mistress, to go with you on Monday next, and to see the English mode.

Lagerfeldt and the master of the ceremonies dining with Whitelocke, he inquired of them what was to be

done by him as to presents to any of the Queen's servants or officers who had done him respect in his business, or being here, and what other things were requisite to be done by him, according to the usage of ambassadors in this Court before their going away, and when he might obtain his audience to take his leave. The master of the ceremonies gave him good and chargeable instructions; and Lagerfeldt agreed in most points with him, and, upon Whitelocke's entreaty, undertook to see that the letters of full power to the Queen's Commissioners, and the recredentials to Whitelocke, should be perfected and brought to him, and a day of audience appointed.

Lagerfeldt told Whitelocke that the Queen was willing to present him with some of this country's commodities, as copper, to carry with him into England, if it would be as acceptable to him as other presents of diamonds and the like; and he said he hoped there was no order of the Commonwealth of England to forbid the receiving of such presents by their public ministers. He said, that formerly he asked of Monsieur Chanut, the French Ambassador here, if he would accept a present of copper, and he willingly accepted it, and carried it with him, saying, that he rather desired copper than diamonds or jewels, because he could better sell the copper than jewels, and make money of it.

Whitelocke said, that whatsoever her Majesty pleased to bestow on him should be welcome to him, and that he liked the commodities of this country as well as those of the Indies, and that for Chanut's reason. He said that the Protector had not forbid him to receive any testimonies of the Queen's respect to him, as she

used to do to all public ministers ; that the order of the Commonwealth forbidding gifts or presents to public ministers was not now in force ; that he thought her Majesty's bounty to him, and his justification of the acceptance of it, might be the more from such valuable presents as her Majesty had done him the honour to receive from him, and his intention to bestow all his horses upon her, and such as she would appoint, which, for the honour of the Commonwealth, he would not sell.

April 30, 1654.

Berkman and Monsieur Bloome dined with White-
locke, and took occasion to magnify the respects of
the Chancellor and his son, Grave Eric, to the Pro-
tector and to Whitelocke, who was not backward to
join in those eulogies, and to acknowledge the respects.
Berkman said that Canterstein was to bring some
writings to Whitelocke, and that Lagerfeldt had spoken
to the Queen to present Whitelocke with some
copper ; that she had given order for two hundred
ship-pound of copper to be brought from the mines to
Stockholm, to be put aboard Whitelocke's ship, ready
to be carried away with him ; that every ship-pound
was here worth forty dollars, and was as much as three
hundred English pounds, which he cast up in the whole
to the value of about £2500 sterling. And Whitelocke
was satisfied in his own conscience that he might honourably receive it, having given to the Queen as many presents already as were worth £1000, and engaged to her his horses, which were worth about £2000 more, besides the gifts and gratuities which he had liberally

Whitelocke
accepts a
present of
copper.

given, and intended to give, to the Queen's servants and officers; and that, in recompense of above £3000 given away, he might well receive a present of the value of £2500.

Grave Leonhough visited Whitelocke, and had much discourse with him, not so proper for this day.

MAY.

—◆—
May 1, 1654.

LAGERFELDT, Berkman, and the Syndic of Gothen-
 burg, after dinner with Whitelocke, discoursed and
 advised him touching his departure. Lagerfeldt said
 he believed the Queen would give Whitelocke audience
 on Friday next, before which time her presents would
 not be ready for Whitelocke and his company; he
 said also, that he heard the Prince intended to be in
 this town within a few days, and if it should be so,
 then it would be better for Whitelocke to stay here,
 and expect his coming hither to salute him here, than
 to go out of his way so far as to the Prince's Court;
 in which matter Whitelocke said he would entreat the
 Queen's advice. Lagerfeldt said further, that the
 Queen had commanded some copper to be brought
 to Stockholm, and to be put aboard the ship where
 Whitelocke was to be embarked, or in some other ship
 as he should appoint, it being a present intended for
 him by the Queen.

The Syndic acquainted Whitelocke that the city of
 Gothenburg would send into England, to prepare there
 for an accord concerning traffic between the English
 merchants and that town, wherein they hoped to have
 the assistance of Whitelocke at his return to England,
 wherein he promised his advice and furtherance.

A Danish gentleman of quality and experience gave a visit to Whitelocke, advised him the way of his journey, and gave him good information touching Denmark, to be communicated to the Protector, as that the English merchants might pass the Sound without paying any tax, if the Protector would insist upon it. Whitelocke, in drollery, asked him why he would discover these things to a stranger, which turn so much to the prejudice of his own country. He answered that he did this to testify his respects to the Protector, and that he did not betray his country, but his country had betrayed him; and that was his country where he breathed and had present nourishment.*

Mr. Woolfeldt visited Whitelocke, and, among other discourses, related to him the story of this gentleman and his lady, which was to this effect, by his and others' relation :—

Woolfeldt's
history.

“This gentleman was of a noble family and extraction in Denmark, grew into great favour with the last King, whose daughter by a second wife he married; and the present King, her brother, made him Viceroy of Norway, Governor of the Isle of Zealand and of the Sound, and a Senator of the kingdom and Great Master of Denmark; and he had been employed thirteen times as an ambassador.

“His lady, the daughter and sister of a king, was of excellent comeliness of person and behaviour, humbly knowing her distance, of a sweet disposition, and of rare parts, both of mind and body; especially deserving praise for her high and entire affection to her husband, who, notwithstanding his great parts and abilities, and the many perils he had undergone in the service of his king and country, yet after

* [This entry is evidently a repetition of the conversation reported at length on the 5th of April. The story here related by M. Woolfeldt is his own.]

all, by the whisperings and false suggestions of backbiters, his enemies, was traduced to the King for being too much a friend to the people's liberty, and an opposer of the King's absolute power; but beyond all this (as some gave it out), that he was too familiar with one of the King's mistresses; so it was that the King took high displeasure against him. Parasites took the occasion to please the King by invectives against one under a cloud; his parts attracted envy, and his merits were too great for any other recompense but his own ruin.

"To avoid the King's wrath and his enemies' malice, and to preserve his life, which was aimed to be taken away with his fortune, he was compelled to fly from his country and seek his security in foreign parts. His lady, though a tender, modest woman,—though the sister of the King regnant, high in his favour and the interest of her alliance; though pressingly enticed to cast off her affection to her husband; though unacquainted with any hardships,—yet so entire was her conjugal love and piety, that, rather than part with her husband, she would leave all her relations and pleasures of a court and her dear country, and put herself, though with child, into the disguise of a page, to attend him in his flight as his servant.

"It may be imagined that such a servant was not unkindly used; but the greatest trouble was, that being on shipboard to cross the Baltic Sea, the poor page whispered the master that she had a longing desire to some cherries which she saw in the town as they came to the ship. Here was the difficulty: if her lord did not go on shore and procure some cherries for the page, it might cost her life; if he did go on shore, and in the meantime the ship should go off, he and his page would be parted, and his own life endangered. It was reason and honour that persuaded him rather to hazard his own than such a page's life; therefore, having effectually dealt with the master of the ship for a little stay, he soon found out a pretence to go on shore, and neglected not to hasten back again with his provision

of cherries, and to find out a way of distributing a large share of them to her that longed for them. After which they happily set sail and arrived in Sweden, where, by articles between the two Crowns, those in his condition have sanctuary and protection."

In the afternoon Whitelocke went to Court, where he met with Canterstein, who excused himself that he had not yet brought to Whitelocke the Queen's letters of full power to her Commissioners, which he said the Queen had signed two days before, and that he had been sick, otherwise he had delivered them before this time. Whitelocke asked him if his recredentials were prepared. He said they were ready for the Queen to sign when she pleased, and that nothing in his charge concerning Whitelocke should receive any delay by his occasion. Whitelocke gave him thanks for his care, and promised his remuneration.

Whitelocke
entertains
the Queen
on May-
day.

This being May-day, Whitelocke, according to the invitation he had made to the Queen, put her in mind of it, that, as she was his mistress, and this May-day, he was, by the custom of England, to wait upon her to take the air, and to treat her with some little collation, as her servant. The Queen said the weather was very cold, yet she was very willing to bear him company after the English mode. With the Queen were Woolfeldt, Tott, and five of her ladies. Whitelocke brought them to his collation, which he had commanded his servants to prepare in the best manner they could, and altogether after the English fashion.

At the table with the Queen sat "la Belle Comtesse," the Countess Gabrielle Oxenstiern, Woolfeldt, Tott, and Whitelocke; the other ladies sat in another room. Their meat was such fowl as could be gotten,

dressed after the English fashion and with English sauces, creams, puddings, custards, tarts, tansies, English apples, *bon chrétien* pears, cheese, butter, neats' tongues, potted venison, and sweetmeats brought out of England, as his sack and claret also was. His beer was also brewed and his bread made by his own servants in his house, after the English manner; and the Queen and her company seemed highly pleased with this treatment. Some of her company said she did eat and drink more at it than she used to do in three or four days at her own table.

The entertainment was as full and noble as the place would afford and as Whitelocke could make it, and so well ordered and contrived that the Queen said she had never seen any like it. She was pleased so far to play the good housewife as to inquire how the butter could be so fresh and sweet, and yet brought out of England. Whitelocke, from his cooks, satisfied her Majesty's inquiry, that they put the salt butter into milk, where it lay all night, and the next day it would eat fresh and sweet as this did, and any butter new made, and commended her Majesty's good housewifery; who, to express her contentment in this collation, was full of pleasantness and gaiety of spirit, both in supper-time and afterwards. Among other frolics, she commanded Whitelocke to teach her ladies the English salutation, which, after some pretty defences, their lips obeyed, and Whitelocke most readily. She highly commended Whitelocke's music of the trumpets, which sounded all supper-time; and her discourse was all of mirth and drollery, wherein Whitelocke endeavoured to answer her, and the rest of the company did their parts.

It was late before she returned to the castle, whither

Whitelocke waited on her ; and she discoursed a little with him about his business and the time of his audience, and gave him many thanks for his noble treatment of her and her company.

May 2, 1654.

The Swedish full powers.

Whitelocke sent to the master of the ceremonies to know if he had desired a time for his last audience, who promised to do it.

Canterstein brought to Whitelocke the Queen's letters of full power to her Commissioners, under her hand and the great seal of Sweden, which were of this tenour.* Having received this commission, Whitelocke delivered to Canterstein his commission under the Great Seal of England, and the copy of his new instructions from the Protector, except what was secret in them.

Canterstein, the master of the ceremonies, and Monsieur Bloome, were frolic at dinner with Whitelocke, and made many caresses to him, and extolled the Chancellor's care and high respect to Whitelocke,

* " We Christina, by the grace of God Queen of Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, etc., do make known and testify, that, whereas it is the common and mutual interest of us and our kingdom, as also of Oliver, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereof, our good friend, and of the said Commonwealth, that the ancient friendship and alliance which hath always been between this kingdom and those nations be conserved and increased ; and especially that the freedom of commerce and navigation do continue straitly conformed and uninterrupted ; and for that cause the foresaid Lord Protector and Commonwealth have been pleased to send their Extraordinary Ambassador unto us : therefore we have commanded, and do by these presents, in the best form, command and commit unto the most illustrious our sincerely faithful and beloved the Lord Axel Oxenstiern, Chancellor

in bringing his treaty to so good an issue; and after dinner Bloome told Whitelocke that the Chancellor had advised the Queen to make a noble present to Whitelocke, which was not yet ready, and that had retarded his last audience. The master of the ceremonies, from the Queen, desired Whitelocke to have a little patience for a few days; that she expected the arrival of the Prince within six or seven days in this town, by which means Whitelocke would have a fair opportunity to salute him here, without further trouble; and that the Queen would give him audience within two days before the arrival of the Prince, and so he should receive no disturbance in his voyage. Whitelocke saw no other remedy for this but patience.

May 3, 1654.

Whitelocke visited Grave Eric. They fell into discourse, among other things, touching Guinea, to this effect:— The Guinea question.

Whitelocke. It is requisite that we come to some conclusion about the business of Guinea.

Grave Eric. I think it fit; and for your further in-

and Senator of us and the kingdom of Sweden, etc., and also to Lord Eric Oxenstiern of Axel, likewise a Senator of us and of the Kingdom of Sweden, etc., that they do treat, agree, and conclude with the before-named Ambassador and Plenipotentiary about the making of a league concerning the foressaid matters and other things thereunto pertaining. Whatsoever therefore our said Plenipotentiary Commissioners shall act, conclude, and appoint with the before-named Ambassador, we shall hold the same ratified and confirmed by force of these presents; in witness and strengthening whereof, we have commanded these presents, subscribed with our hand, to be corroborated with our great seal of the kingdom. Given in our castle of Upsal, the fourteenth day of March, in the year one thousand six hundred fifty and four. CHRISTINA."

formation, here is the answer in writing of the Swedes who are concerned therein unto the complaints of the English company in that business.

Wh. Will you leave the writing with me?

Gr. Eric. I shall send you a copy of it.

Wh. The complaints of the English have been proved by depositions of witnesses.

Gr. Eric. Those depositions were taken in the absence of the other party; and, if you please, witnesses may be produced here on the part of the Swedes.

Wh. Witnesses produced here will be also in the absence of the other party, though I had leisure and commission to examine them on oath.

Gr. Eric. You may see in this map of Guinea how the plantations of the Swedes, English, and Hollanders do lie, and are mingled and near to one another.

Wh. The King of that place made a grant to the English, for them only to dwell and traffic in that country; and the Swedes afterwards drove the English, by force, out of their fortifications.

Gr. Eric. The English had no fortifications there; all the fort they had was a little lodge with two rooms only in it, out of which the Swedes did not force them; and both the Hollanders and Swedes were planted in this place before any grant made to the English, and the Swedes had a grant from the same King, whereof this is a copy.

Wh. It will be material to compare the dates of these two grants: if that to the English was first, then the other to the Swedes was of no validity; and the like of the contrary. If you will favour me with a copy of the grant made to the Swedes, I will compare it with that made to the English, and return it to you.

Gr. Eric. You shall command it.

Mr. Woolfeldt, being visited by Whitelocke, told him that the Queen was extremely pleased with his treatment of her. Whitelocke excused the meanness of it for her Majesty. Woolfeldt replied, that both the Queen and all the company esteemed it as the handsomest and noblest that they ever saw; and the Queen, after that, would drink no other wine but Whitelocke's, and kindly accepted the neats' tongues, potted venison, and other cates which, upon her commendation of them, Whitelocke sent unto her Majesty. Woolfeldt showed a paper of consequence written by himself in Spanish, and he read it in French to Whitelocke, being perfect in those and other languages. He said, that whatsoever he wrote he did it in a foreign language, to continue the exercise of them. The paper showed how the English might be freed from paying tolls at the Sound. Whitelocke entreated a copy of this paper in French, which Woolfeldt promised.

A great quantity of snow fell and covered the houses and fields, and was hard frozen: a matter at this time strange to the English, but ordinary here.

May 4, 1654.

Mr. Boteler, a Scotsman, confidently reported great news to the disparagement of the affairs of England, that the Highlanders of Scotland had given a great defeat to the English and killed five hundred of them, which news was soon confuted by Whitelocke.

The Senator Vanderlin, and his brother the master of the ceremonies; Dr. Loccenius, a civilian, Keeper of the Library in this University; another gentleman,

A literary
dinner
party.

Professor of Eloquence here ; Mr. Ravius, Professor of the Eastern tongues ; and a French gentleman, captain of one of the companies of Guards, doing Whitelocke the honour to dine with him, had very learned discourse, particularly of languages and of the affinity between the Swedish, English, Danish, and High Dutch tongues, whereof they gave many instances, and Whitelocke was able to add to them. The professors discoursed only in Latin, as most proper for them ; the others in French ; and they hold it a discourtesy if a man be not answered in the same language which he speaks. They also extolled the Prince and the Protector ; and the Senator said that there was not any person who came so near to the eminency and grandeur of the Protector as the Prince of Sweden did.

The Dutch
Resident
salutes
Whitelocke
on the
peace.

The company being gone, Whitelocke went to the accustomed place, the great wood, to take the air ; and as he was walking in the broad way there, he perceived the coach of the Dutch Resident coming towards him ; and perceiving the English Ambassador to be walking there, the Resident alighted out of his coach and came on foot towards Whitelocke. Whether he came after Whitelocke in a handsome design or contrivance for their first salutation, or that it was by accident, Whitelocke did not examine, but thought fit to answer the civility of the Resident by walking back towards him to meet him.

They saluted each other and their company with great respect. The Resident began the compliment to Whitelocke in French, telling him that he was very glad of the opportunity to have the happiness to salute Whitelocke, which he would not neglect to do, perceiving him in this place ; and that he would take the

first occasion to do himself the honour to visit Whitelocke at his house. Whitelocke answered, that the Resident should be very welcome when he pleased to do that honour to Whitelocke as to bestow a visit on him; and that he was also very glad of the opportunity which had now presented itself, whereby he had the contentment of being acquainted with the Resident. They fell into general discourses, and, among the rest, of the conclusion and ratification of the treaty between the two Commonwealths, and of the advantage which thereby would arise to both of them, and to the Protestant party.*

As they were walking together the Queen passed by them, being in that wood also to take the air. When she came near, she saluted them with great respect, and spake to them aloud, "Je suis ravie de vous voir

* [No sooner had Cromwell assumed the Protectorate than his foreign policy took a more definite shape, and was steadily directed to two great objects—peace with Holland, and the union of the Protestant States. The conclusion of the Dutch peace was however not an easy matter. Cromwell himself had declared in favour of the daring project of a union of the two Republics, and the Dutch alliance was hated by many of his stoutest military supporters. Moreover he required of the Dutch, as a condition *sine quâ non*, that they should engage never to make the young Prince of Orange or his descendants their Stadtholder, or to give him the command of their forces. This was the secret article against which the States General most vehemently protested, and Cromwell was at length obliged to content himself with an engagement of the province of Holland to exclude the House of Orange. Even this pretension was strongly opposed by De Witt, but Cromwell insisted. The public treaty of peace was signed on the 5th of April, 1654; but it was not until the 5th of June following that the secret article was ratified. The King of Denmark, the Swiss Protestant cantons, the Hanseatic towns, and some of the Protestant Princes of North Germany were included in the treaty, which formed the complement of the negotiation on which Whitelocke was engaged in Sweden.—M. GUIZOT, *Histoire de la République d'Angleterre*, vol. ii. p. 67.]

ensemble, je vois que la paix est faite.” And so the Queen went on her way, and Whitelocke took leave of the Resident.

A despatch
from
Thurloe.

At his return to his house Whitelocke found his packet from England ready to entertain him, and Thurloe’s letter was this :—

“ My Lord,

“ Your letter of the 10th of March arrived here this morning, whereby you are pleased to give a very particular and exact account of all proceedings in this treaty you are upon ; I presently communicated the contents thereof to his Highness and the Council, with whom he was willing to advise, and thereupon he was pleased to send you the instructions which your Excellence will receive herewith, which are fully agreeable to your own desire in that behalf. The former instructions had come sooner, if the issue of the Dutch treaty had been sooner known ; now, through the blessing of God, it is fully concluded, and your Excellence will receive herewith the articles, as they are signed by the Commissioners of his Highness and the Lords Ambassadors of the United Provinces. They signed them upon Wednesday, at night, and the next morning the ambassadors sent them away to be ratified by their superiors, which they will do without difficulty or scruple, as we believe.

“ Your Excellence will see by those articles made with the Dutch, that the second and fifth article is omitted out of your instructions ; that these two treaties will very well stand together ; and for the notice to be given to the Dutch, it is clear to me that it will not be necessary, in respect that this treaty was not only begun, but as good as finished, before the conclusion with the Dutch.

“ And for the fourth article, and the proviso your Excellence is pleased to send, that being so clearly within the substance of your former instructions, I thought it needless to add any instruction about it now.

“ His Highness in the beginning of this week was pleased

to send for the Great Seal, and kept it in his own custody two days, and now hath disposed it unto your Excellence, Sir Thomas Widdrington, and your confrater my Lord Lisle. His Highness is very much resolved upon a good and solid reformation of the law, and proceedings in the Courts of Equity and Laws: the matter of law he hath committed unto Mr. Justice Hale and Mr. John Vaughan; the reformation of the Chancery to my Lord Widdrington, Mr. Attorney-General, and Mr. Chute,—being resolved to give the learned of the robe the honour of reforming their own profession, and hopes that God will give them hearts to do it; and, that no time may be lost, the next term is adjourned.

“The French Ambassador desires very much to get a despatch of his business. His Highness hath at length appointed him commissioners to treat, but no progress hath been yet made thereupon. The speech that he made at his first audience your Excellence will receive by this.

“The Portugal presseth much now to come to an agreement also, and to close the treaty which hath hanged so long; and so doth the Spaniard.

“I pray for your Excellence’s safe return home and rest.

“Your Excellence’s humble servant,

“JO. THURLOE.

“April 7th, 1654.”

Whitelocke’s new instructions from the Protector:

“O. P.

“*Additional Instructions to my Lord Whitelocke, our Ambassador Extraordinary to her Majesty the Queen of Sweden.*

“Having considered the particular account you have given by your letters weekly of your negotiation in Sweden, and the delay which hath been on the part of that Court in the treaty you are upon, we might well have given you positive orders for your speedy return.

“But observing that the letters and despatches between this and Sweden are a month in their way, and not knowing

how affairs may alter in that time with you, and the pretence of their delay—to wit, the uncertainty of the issue of the treaty between us and the United Provinces—being removed, as you will see by these letters, which will assure you of the full conclusion thereof, we have thought it more convenient to leave you a latitude in that particular, and to give you liberty (as we do hereby) to return home at such time as you shall find it for the service of the Commonwealth.

“ 2. Whereas, by your letter of the 10th of March, 1654, you have represented the particular debates which you have had upon all the articles of the treaty, and the exceptions taken by the Queen upon the second, fifth, and seventh articles, you are hereby authorized to omit the second and fifth articles out of the treaty, as also the words ‘ bona à suis cujusque inimicis direpta ’ out of the seventh article, if the Queen shall still insist thereupon ; and as for the comprehending the Dutch in this treaty with the Queen of Sweden, notice shall be given from hence, if it shall be found necessary.

“ 3. You have hereby power to agree with the Queen of Sweden that she and her subjects may fish freely for herrings in the seas of this Commonwealth, paying the recognition of the tenth herring, or for a lesser recognition, so as it be not less than the twentieth herring, or the value thereof in money.

“ *Whitehall, 7th April, 1654.*”

The Order of the Council touching the Great Seal sent by Thurloe was this. The title of the order was thus :—

Whitelocke, Widdrington, and Lisle reappointed of the Great Seal. “ *Order of the Council approving of the Commissioners of the Great Seal.*”

“ *Tuesday, 4th April, 1654.*”

“ AT THE COUNCIL AT WHITEHALL :

“ *Resolved, That the Council doth approve of the Lord*

Ambassador Whitelocke to be one of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal.

"Resolved, That the Council doth approve of Sir Thomas Widdrington, Knight, Serjeant-at-Law, to be one of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal.

"Resolved, That the Council doth approve of John Lisle, Esquire, to be one of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal.

"By the command of his Highness Mr. Serjeant Widdrington and Mr. Lisle were called in, and being come to the table, his Highness declared that the Lord Ambassador Whitelocke and themselves had been nominated by his Highness, and approved by the Council, to be Commissioners for the Great Seal; and his Highness did deliver unto the said Mr. Serjeant Widdrington and Mr. Lisle the said Great Seal; and then the oath appointed by the ordinance was read by the Clerk of the Council, and was taken by each of them.

*"EX^r W. JESSOP,
' Clerk of the Council."*

The Guinea Company sent by this packet a letter to Whitelocke of thanks for his care of their business, and that they could not buy the Swedes' interest in Guinea, and referred the whole matter wholly to Whitelocke.

The examinations in the Court of Admiralty touching the ship 'Charity,' enclosed in Thurloe's letters, made it appear that the Swedes had not injury done them, as they complained, and that the goods belonged to Hollanders, and not to the Swedes; but only coloured by the Hollanders under the name of Swedish ship and goods, though they were not so. Whitelocke made use of these examinations as he saw cause, and found that Martin Thysen had an interest in these goods.

The enclosed speech of the French Ambassador to

Reception
of the
French Am-
bassador in
London.

the Protector was full of compliment, giving him the title of "Serene Altesse," and as much as could be well offered by the French, seeming to desire a league and amity with the Protector. The Ambassador was received with great state and solemnity, answerable to the honour of his master the King of France, with whom the Protector had a good mind to close at this time, the rather to frustrate the hopes of the King of Scots of assistance from thence, where he was now entertained, caressed, and made believe he should have all aid and furtherance for his restitution, which the Protector sought to prevent by the interest of the Cardinal Mazarin, whose creature this Ambassador was.

May 5, 1654.

The
Queen's
presents to
Whitelocke
and his
suite.

Lagerfeldt acquainted Whitelocke that the Queen intended to gratify him with a gift of as great value as had been bestowed upon any ambassador before ; and that she having received from Whitelocke many brave horses and many native goods of England, and Whitelocke having undertaken, at his return to England, to provide for her Majesty several other commodities, she held it reasonable to requite him with some commodities of this country, if Whitelocke thought fit to accept of them. Whitelocke answered that it did not become him to prescribe bounds to her Majesty's favour, but only to refer himself to the Queen's judgement herein. Lagerfeldt replied that the Queen intended to bestow her gift upon him in copper, and gave order that it should be put aboard a ship, to be consigned by him to some of his friends at London, or as he pleased to dispose it.

Whitelocke desired of Lagerfeldt that although the articles were signed, that yet he in the instrument might prefix to the title these words "Serenissimi ac Celsissimi Domini," which words Whitelocke did observe to be in the Protector's title to the Dutch articles, which was not known to Whitelocke before the articles were signed here. Lagerfeldt promised to acquaint the Chancellor herewith, and to bring his answer.

Whitelocke waited upon the Queen, and acquainted her with his news from England, and of the consummation of the treaty of peace between England and the Dutch, whereof she said she was very glad, and thanked Whitelocke for his news. He then entreated her Majesty to appoint a day for his audience to take his leave of her Majesty, which she told him should be shortly done; then she desired his company with her in her coach, to take the air. He waited on her, and besides there was in the coach Grave Tott, Grave Vandone, and the Countess Christina Oxenstiern. The Queen was not very pleasant, but entertained some little discourses, not much of business; and after a short tour, returning to the castle, retired into her chamber, and Whitelocke to his lodging.

May 6, 1654.

Lagerfeldt returned answer to Whitelocke, of his motion to insert the words "Serenissimi ac Celsissimi Domini" into the Protector's title, that he had acquainted the Chancellor with it, who also had communicated it to her Majesty, and she willingly assented thereunto; and it was inserted accordingly.

He brought with him Monsieur Carloe, Governor of the Swedish Company for Guinea, with whom Whitelocke had much discourse upon the same points as he had before with Grave Eric ; and Carloe denied all that the English merchants had affirmed, and he continued before and after dinner very obstinate in it.

Secretary Canerstein brought to Whitelocke the Queen's letters of the grant of two hundred ship-pound of copper for a present to him, which letters were thus.*

In the afternoon the master of the ceremonies came to Whitelocke's house, and presented to him, from the Queen, a handsome jewel, which was a case of gold, fairly enamelled, and having in the midst of it the picture of the Queen, done to the life, and very like her. It was set round about with twelve large diamonds, and several small diamonds between the great ones. He told Whitelocke that, by command of her Majesty, he presented her picture to him ; that she was sorry it was not made up so as might have

* " We, Christina, by the grace of God Queen of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, etc., do make known and testify that whereas the endeavours of the illustrious and generous, of us sincerely beloved, the Lord Bulstrode Whitelocke, Extraordinary Ambassador, are most grateful to us, which he hath negotiated for the common good of our Kingdom and his Commonwealth, for the making of a league of stricter friendship between both parties : therefore, and to the end it may appear as a testimony of our goodwill and grateful memory on this behalf, we have thereupon granted and assigned, and by these our letters do grant and assign to the said Lord Ambassador two hundred pound of copper, commonly called ship-pounds ; the which two hundred pounds of copper our treasurers and officers of our Chamber of Accounts are obliged, without delay, to deliver into the hands of the before-mentioned Ambassador. In greater testimony whereof we have commanded these presents, subscribed with our hand, to be confirmed by our seal. Given in our castle of Upsal, the 3rd day of May, in the year 1654. CHRISTINA."

been worthy of his reception ; but she desired, if he pleased, that he would do her the honour to wear it for her sake, and to accept the picture in memory of the friend that sent it. Whitelocke answered that the Queen was pleased to bestow a great honour upon him in this noble testimony of her favour to him, of which he acknowledged himself altogether unworthy ; but her Majesty's opinion was otherwise, as appeared by such a present as this. He did with all thankfulness accept it, and should with great contentment give himself occasion, by the honour of wearing it, to remember the more often her Majesty and her favours to him, her servant, for which he desired the master to present his humble thanks unto her Majesty.

After he had been with Whitelocke, the master went to Whitelocke's two sons, and in the Queen's name presented to each of them a chain of gold of five links, and at the end of the chain a medal of gold of the Queen's picture ; the chains and medals were valued at four hundred ducats apiece. Then he presented, in the Queen's name, to Colonel Potley, to Dr. Whistler, to Captain Beake, and Mr. Earle, to each of them a chain of gold of four links, and at the end of each chain a medal of gold of the Queen's picture ; these chains and medals were valued at two hundred ducats apiece, or thereabouts.

Then he presented, in the Queen's name, to Mr. Stapleton, Mr. Ingelo, and Mr. De la Marche, to each of them a chain of gold of three links, with a medal of gold of the Queen's picture at the end of each chain ; the chains and medals were valued at about a hundred and sixty ducats apiece. To Mr. Walker he presented a chain and medal of gold of three links,

shorter than the rest, of about the value of a hundred and thirty ducats ; to Captain Crispe and to Mr. Swift, to each of them a chain of gold of two links, with a medal of gold to each of them, of about the value of a hundred ducats apiece.

Disputes
caused by
the Queen's
presents.

Walker the steward, and Stapleton, gentleman of the horse to Whitelocke, were discontented, because their chains were not of four links apiece ; and they and others took exceptions because their chains were not so good and valuable as those given to Potley and Beake,—so seditious a thing is gold. But Whitelocke endeavoured to satisfy them by the reasons why the chains of Potley and Beake were better than theirs : the one having been an ancient servant of this Crown, and the other being commander of the guards of the Protector ; and nothing was due to them, but only the Queen's free gift and bounty was in all of them, and therefore not to be excepted against by any of them. Notwithstanding this admonition, they met and discoursed together in discontent about this business, and gave thereby occasion of displeasure to Whitelocke.

Whitelocke being in the mood to take the air, the Holland Resident came thither, where they walked and discoursed together ; and in their return the Resident and two of his gentlemen, Vorstius and another, went in Whitelocke's coach, who brought the Resident to his lodging, and there had a civil treatment, and found by discourse that the Resident was not well satisfied with his being in this Court. Whitelocke did not hitherto make a visit to any person since he had received his presents from the Queen, after which, in ceremony, he must first visit her Majesty to give her thanks, and then he is at liberty to visit others.

May 7, 1654.

The Lord's Day.—Monsieur Bloome, and Mr. De Geeres, the rich merchant of Sweden, after dinner with Whitelocke, discoursed much about matters not so proper for the day. Walker and Stapleton attending Whitelocke and walking in the evening, he again spake to them about their presents as formerly; but found Stapleton stiff in his opinion, and to intend to send back his present to the master of the ceremonies as refusing it; but Whitelocke required him not to do so, lest it should be taken as an affront to Whitelocke and to the Protector himself, as well as a disdaining of the Queen's present, which was her Majesty's free gift without any obligation.

May 8, 1654.

The warrant formerly inserted was sent to the officers of the Treasury, who thereupon made their order to the under-officers for the delivery of the copper accordingly, which order was brought to Whitelocke in the Swedish language. Warrant for the copper.

The master of the ceremonies came to Whitelocke to inform him that the Queen had appointed Wednesday next, the 10th of this month, for his last audience to take his leave. Whitelocke said he was sorry it could not be sooner. The master excused it by reason of the great affairs of the Queen upon the meeting of the Ricksdag. Grave Eric and Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke and debated with him the business of Guinea. The Guinea case.

Grave Eric. I shall read to you this paper, which is in Latin and in French,—an answer to the complaints of the English, and denies all their allegations.

Whitelocke. The allegations of the English are proved by oath ; here are the depositions.

Gr. Eric. The answers of the Swedes are upon oath likewise.

Wh. But the English are in the affirmative.

Gr. Eric. The Swedes have like complaints against the English, which are to be proved by oath in the affirmative also ; and in such case the parties or their procurators must appear before the ordinary and competent judges, which will require a great deal of time ; but we being to treat with you as an Ambassador, we propose that there may be an abolition of all past injuries of the one side and the other, and that there may be an agreement and friendship, and free trade there for the future.

Wh. This will be very proper for the time to come, but it will be no satisfaction for the injuries already done. I have no power from the Protector or Company of English Merchants to make any such agreement ; but for what concerns the public, I can make an accord with you, and the satisfaction of damages for wrongs past may be remitted to the determination of the Commissioners.

Gr. Eric. I shall show you a project in writing, that all the houses and possessions of the one part and the other may continue in the same estate for the time to come as they are in at present.

Wh. To agree to this were to give up the right of the English merchants, and to acknowledge that they have no cause of complaint ; whereas I demand in justice a reparation and satisfaction for those injuries whereof they complain.

Gr. Eric. Then the business must be decided before

the judges, witnesses on both sides must be heard, and we must insist upon it that the houses and possessions continue in the same estate as they now are.

Wh. You must pardon me that I cannot assent hereunto.

Thus their debate broke off.

Monsieur Ravius came to Whitelocke in the name of the Bishop of Stregnes, to acquaint him that if he had any English horses which he would bestow upon the Prince, that they would be very acceptable to him, and that Whitelocke would very much gratify himself thereby. Whitelocke said that his saddle-horses were not worth the presenting to his Royal Highness, the best of them being already given away; but he had a set of coach-horses which he intended to reserve and to present unto the Prince, if he pleased to accept them. Ravius said they would be very acceptable to him.

May 9, 1654.

The King of Denmark being included in the treaty between England and the Dutch, and so become a friend, Whitelocke was advised to send first a compliment to the Danish Ambassador now residing in this Court; which, when Whitelocke doubted lest thereby he might diminish the honour of England by sending to the Dane before the Dane had first sent to him, the master of the ceremonies and others instructed him that it was the constant custom for the ambassador that comes last to send first a compliment to him that had been in the Court before; whereupon Whitelocke did send one of his gentlemen to the Danish Ambassador, to visit and compliment him.

*Whitelocke compli-
ments the
Danish
minister on
the peace.*

Now the secretary of the Ambassador of Denmark came to Whitelocke, in the name of his lord, to give him thanks for the honour he had done him in sending one of his servants to salute him, and to congratulate the good news of the agreement between England and the Dutch, wherein the King his master was comprised. The secretary said that the confirmation thereof was also come to his lord by the way of Holland and of Denmark, for which news his Lordship was very joyful, and would himself have given a visit to Whitelocke but that his want of health detained him in his lodging. Whitelocke told the secretary that he was very sorry for his lord's indisposition of health, and wished his good recovery; that he was heartily glad of the news which gave him occasion to send to his lord to congratulate with him, and that he would take an opportunity to visit him in person when it might be without prejudice to his Excellence's health.

Berkman came to Whitelocke to give him an account of a message wherein he had employed Berkman to the Marshal Wrangel, to desire him, in Whitelocke's name, that the ship appointed to transport him might fall down from Stockholm to the Dollars, for Whitelocke to come on board her there, which would save him a hundred miles by sea from Stockholm thither, there being a nearer way by a third-part from Stockholm to the Dollars for boats to pass. Berkman said he found Wrangel very civil, and ready to do what Whitelocke should desire of him for his accommodation, and that he had ordered the ship forthwith to fall down to the Dollars; for which Whitelocke desired Monsieur Berkman to return his thanks to the Marshal.

The Ricks-Admiral sent to Whitelocke, expressing much civility and readiness to serve him, and desired to know if one ship would be sufficient for his transportation; that, if he pleased, there should be more provided for him. Whitelocke returned thanks, and that he hoped he should not have occasion to put them to the trouble of more ships for his transportation than that already ordered for him.

The master of the ceremonies came to Whitelocke, Whitelocke invited to the ceremony of abdication. by the Queen's command, to know if he and his company pleased to see the meeting of the Ricksdag; that he had provided a place for that purpose, where they might be unknown and unseen, and yet see all the ceremony and hear all the harangues; that if Whitelocke would see it, the master would call him at eight o'clock in the morning and wait upon him to the place; but he said that the Danish Ambassador had some thoughts of being there also, and if he came first to the place he would take the uppermost seat. Whitelocke then desired the master to call him early enough that he might be there first, because he should hardly permit the Danish Ambassador to sit above him. The master said he would be sure to call Whitelocke early enough, but he believed that the Danish Ambassador would not be there because of his ill health.

The master told Whitelocke that Monsieur Bloome had informed him that some of Whitelocke's gentlemen took exceptions to the presents sent them by the Queen. He protested, upon his soul and his honour, that he had no hand in the disposing of these presents, but that all was done by the officers of the Chamber of Accounts, and that the Queen did not meddle with it; but when he showed her a catalogue of the officers

of Whitelocke's house, she marked them how she would have the presents bestowed ; that how the matter might be altered afterwards he was wholly ignorant, and that he had order, under the hands of the officers, to make the distribution as he had done ; and he hoped none of the gentlemen would be offended with him, who had done nothing but as he was ordered by those over him. Whitelocke told him that, in so great a family as his was, it would be difficult to please every one ; that these presents were the Queen's favours, which she might distribute as she pleased, and every one ought to be contented therewith ; that some of his company had discoursed hereof more than belonged to them, but that he would take order in it himself. They had also this further discourse :—

Whitelocke. Do you expect the arrival of the Prince here on Friday next ?

Mast. Cer. The Queen is not assured of his arrival that day, but she will go out on horseback, accompanied with all her nobility, to meet him.

Wh. Will it be expected that I go out likewise to meet him ?

Mast. Cer. That cannot be, because it will be after your last audience, and when you have taken your leave of the Queen, so that you cannot then appear in public nor in any public action, because it will be to present yourself before those of whom you had taken your leave before.

Wh. But after my last audience I may in private see the Queen ?

Mast. Cer. Yes, for that is but a particular visit ; and so you may visit any of your friends after your last audience.

Wh. I intend likewise to salute the Prince after my last audience.

Mast. Cer. You may do it, because it will be but a particular visit.

Wh. I hope his Royal Highness will treat me with the same civility and respect as he useth to any other ambassador.

Mast. Cer. That he will infallibly do. Monsieur Chanut, the French Ambassador, when he was in this Court, did always give the right hand to the Prince after the proposal had been made of declaring him Prince-heritier of the crown, though the Ricksdag had not then confirmed it. But Chanut made difficulty of it at the Prince's lodging, because he was not the son of a king, yet afterwards he did it both there and elsewhere.

Wh. There is more reason for me now to do it, because the proposal is to be made of investing him with the Crown. What was the manner of the Prince's reception of Chanut, where did he meet Chanut at his coming, and how far did he go with him at his taking leave?

Mast. Cer. The Prince received Chanut at the door of the chamber where he had his audience; and when the Ambassador went away, the Prince brought him to the same place and no further; and I believe he will give the same respect to your Excellence, and as much to you as to any public minister.

Wh. I can desire no more.

May 10, 1654.

Lagerfeldt came to Whitelocke and acquainted him

Whitelocke
attends a
wedding at
Court.

that there was a special article to be agreed upon touching the business of Guinea, which the Queen and the Chancellor were willing might proceed for the despatch of Whitelocke, and that Grave Eric would have come to him about it, but that he was ill and had taken physic. He told Whitelocke that the Queen said he might have his last audience that day if he pleased; but if he would be present at the solemnity of the nuptials which were this evening to be celebrated at Court between the Baron Horne and the Lady Sparre, and if he desired to see the assembling of the Ricksdag tomorrow, then it would be requisite to defer his audience till Friday, because when he had taken his leave of the Queen it would not be proper for him afterwards to appear in public. Whitelocke said he had rather be dismissed than to be present at any solemnities; that her Majesty had taken him captive by her noble presents, so that it was not fit for him to come abroad in public. He asked Lagerfeldt if the Prince would be here on Friday next; if so, then it would not be convenient to have his audience put off to that day. Lagerfeldt said he doubted that the Prince would not be here so soon.

An officer on horseback, accompanied with several other horsemen, with four kettle-drums and eight or ten trumpets beating and sounding before them, made proclamation in several parts of the town that all persons who were summoned to appear at the Ricksdag should give their attendance at the place appointed in the Queen's castle of Upsal tomorrow by eight o'clock in the morning, upon pain of half-a-dollar mulcted for every default.

The master of the ceremonies came to Whitelocke

from the Queen, and acquainted him to the same effect as Lagerfeldt had done, touching his last audience. The master also, by the Queen's command, invited Whitelocke to the wedding at Court this night; and if he pleased to see the manner of the assembling of the Ricksdag, that he had order to take the care of it, and that it would be no hindrance to his going away, because the Prince did not come hither till Tuesday next. Whitelocke said he was sorry that the Prince would come no sooner to this place, but since it was the pleasure of the Queen that he should wait upon her this evening, he would obey her commands; and as to the time of his audience, he submitted to her pleasure.

The Ricks-Admiral sent again to Whitelocke, to know if he would have any more ships provided for his transportation. Whitelocke returned his thanks, and that he intended not to take any of his horses with him, and therefore should not need any more ships than were already ordered.

Studely, one of Whitelocke's servants, returned to him from Stockholm with an account that the ship appointed for his transportation was not yet ready, which retarded his voyage to his trouble.

Between ten and eleven o'clock at night the master of the ceremonies came to Whitelocke's house, with one of the Queen's coaches, to bring him to the wedding at Court. He desired Whitelocke's two sons to go into that coach, who excused themselves that they had not been in that coach formerly. The master said that when one went to an audience there were certain formalities to be observed, but going to a wedding was another thing; that now the Queen

had sent her coach for Whitelocke as her guest, and it was proper for his sons to go with him. Whitelocke wished them to observe the direction of the master, who governed in these things.

They went to the bridegroom's house, where were many of his friends; his uncle the Ricks-Admiral, Marshal Wrangel, and other senators and noblemen. As soon as Whitelocke alighted out of the coach, the bridegroom's brother was there to receive him and bid him welcome; near the door the bridegroom met him, and gave him thanks for the favour in honouring his wedding with his presence. Whitelocke said he was very ready to testify his respects to the nobility of this country, and particularly to himself, and took it for an honour to be invited into such company.

Whitelocke was instructed by the master of the ceremonies, that by the custom of this country the bridegroom takes place of the King, and the bride of the Queen, during the solemnities of the wedding; accordingly Whitelocke gave the right hand to the bridegroom.

After a little discourse they took their coaches;—first the gentlemen, then the Lords, then the Senators, then the Ricks-Admiral and Senator Bundt, who, being next of kin, was to give the bride in marriage; after Bundt went Whitelocke, and after him the bridegroom, who had precedence in the Queen's coach, which went last, and Whitelocke next before it, and the other coaches in their order; the bridegroom's coach last of all, as the best place. The like order they observed in their going in the castle. At the head of the stairs the master of the ceremonies met them, and brought them to the presence-chamber,

where the Queen was with the bride and a great company of gallant ladies. The bridegroom kissed her Majesty's hand, and then the bride's hand; the rest of the company did the like. Between the Queen and Whitelocke passed a little discourse.

Whitelocke. Madam, I give you humble thanks for your invitation of me to these solemnities.

Queen. It is an honour to us that such an Ambassador will be present at our ceremonies.

Wh. I likewise return my most humble thanks to your Majesty for your many favours, and the noble presents you have been pleased to bestow on me and on my company.

Qu. Sir, you mock me; I am troubled I could not do according to that respect which I bear you. This is only a custom of our country to persons of your condition, and I hope you will take it in good part.

Wh. It is more suitable to your Majesty's bounty than to anything I can call desert in me, who have a most grateful sense and acceptance of your Majesty's favours.

The bride and bridegroom were both clothed in white tabby, his suit laced with a very broad gold and silver lace. The bride had on her head a coronet set full of diamonds, with a diamond collar about her neck and shoulders, a diamond girdle of the same fashion, and a rich diamond jewel at her breast, which were all of them of great value, and by some reported to be the Queen's jewels, lent by her to the bride for that time.

*Ceremony
of the
marriage.*

They went all to the great hall; first the noblemen, then the senators, then the bridegroom between Bundt and Whitelocke, then the bride between two Graves,

then the Queen and her Guards. Then the Queen presently took her chair of state; at her right-hand at a little distance sat the bride against her; at the Queen's left-hand sat the bridegroom, next to him Whitelocke, and then Bundt. After they were all sat, Bundt rose up and went towards the Queen, and spake in Swedish with a loud voice to this effect, as it was interpreted to Whitelocke:—That Baron Horne, a gentleman there present, of an ancient and noble family, desired to have in marriage a lady who was servant to her Majesty, of the ancient and noble family of the Sparres; then he spake much of the pedigrees and in the praise of both the families; after that he addressed himself to the bride and bridegroom, giving them good counsel as to the condition which they were entering into, and their demeanour to one another. Then some friends led the bridegroom to a place in the midst of the hall purposely railed in, and then they fetched the bride thither also and placed her by the bridegroom; then a grave churchman, one of the Queen's chaplains, turning himself to the Queen, pronounced the words of marriage after a form in a book which he read, and being interpreted to Whitelocke, he found it the same in effect with the words of marriage in the English Liturgy. The ceremony of joining them in marriage being ended, two Graves with torches came to the bridegroom and bride and led them around; two other Lords with torches followed after them, many ladies two by two. The bride being brought to her seat by the bridegroom, he then took the Queen by the hand and they walked between the torches; then the bride came and took Whitelocke by the hand and

they walked after the Queen. Whitelocke brought the bride again to her place, and being instructed that he was to take the Queen and march the round with her also, Whitelocke did it, and all this was a solemn walking to the sound of drums and trumpets. After which, every one returned to their places, and then they set to dancing of the brawls; and the Queen came to Whitelocke to take him out to dance with her, who excused himself.

Whitelocke. Madam, I am fearful that I shall dishonour your Majesty, as well as shame myself, by dancing with you. Whitelocke dances with the Queen.

Queen. I will try whether you can dance.

Wh. I assure your Majesty I cannot in any measure be worthy to have you by the hand.

Qu. I esteem you worthy, and therefore make choice of you to dance with me.

Wh. I shall not so much undervalue your Majesty's judgement as not to obey you herein, and I wish I could remember as much of this as when I was a young man.

After they had done dancing, and Whitelocke had waited upon the Queen to her chair of state, she said to him—

Qu. *Par Dieu!* these Hollanders are lying fellows.

Wh. I wonder how the Hollanders should come into your mind upon such an occasion as this is, who are not usually thought upon in such solemnities, nor much acquainted with them.

Qu. I will tell you all. The Hollanders reported to me a great while since that all the *noblesse* of England were of the King's party, and none but mechanics of the Parliament party, and not a gentleman

among them; now I thought to try you, and to shame you if you could not dance; but I see that you are a gentleman and have been bred a gentleman, and that makes me say the Hollanders are lying fellows, to report that there was not a gentleman of the Parliament's party, when I see by you chiefly, and by many of your company, that you are gentlemen.

Wh. Truly, Madam, in this they told a great untruth to your Majesty, as I believe they have done in several other particulars. I do confess that the greatest part of our nobility and gentry were of the King's party, but many of them likewise were of the Parliament's party; and I, who am sent to wait upon your Majesty, can, without vanity, derive to myself an ancient pedigree of a gentleman. They would not have given the honour to any but a gentleman to kiss your Majesty's hand, and you are pleased to do your servant right, and his company, by acknowledging that our superiors have commanded gentlemen to wait on you.

Qu. I assure you that I esteem it the greater honour done to me, and you are the more welcome to me because you are a gentleman; and had I not known and found you to be so, your business would not have been so well despatched as it is. I see you have all the qualities of a gentleman, and I believe that you were excellent in your music and dancing in your younger days.

Wh. I was bred up in the qualities of a gentleman, and in my youth was accounted not inferior to others in the practice of them; but it is so long since I used this of dancing, especially after we learned to march, that had it not been to obey your Majesty, I should hardly have been drawn to discover my deficiencies.

Qu. You have discovered nothing but what tends to your honour and to my contentment; and I take it as a favour that you were willing to lay aside your gravity and play the courtier upon my request, which I see you can do so well when you please.

After the dancing ended, there was brought into the hall a sumptuous banquet, the Hof-Marshal with his silver staff ushering it, and after that distributed. The Queen and all the company went back in the same order to the presence-chamber, and there the Queen bid the bride and bridegroom good-night, and so all went to their lodgings, divers of the nobles waiting on the bride to her chamber.

The Queen told Whitelocke that she believed the Prince would be here on Tuesday next, and that Whitelocke should have his audience on Friday next. Whitelocke took his coach, after it had waited nine hours at the castle.

May 11, 1654.

Early in the morning the master of the ceremonies came to accompany Whitelocke to the castle, to see the manner of the assembly of the Ricksdag, and brought him and his company to the castle to an upper room or gallery, where he sat privately, not taken notice of by any, yet had the full view of the great hall where the Ricksdag met, and heard what was said. The Danish Ambassador did forbear to come thither, as was supposed, because of Whitelocke being there. The French Resident sat by Whitelocke, and conversed with him.

The abdication of Queen Christina.

The great hall, two stories high, was prepared for the Assembly. An outer chamber was hung with cloth

of Arras ; in the antechamber to that were guards of the Queen's partisans ; in the court was a company of musketeers. The great hall was hung with those hangings which were before in Whitelocke's lodgings, with some others added, and was very handsome. On each side of the hall, from the walls towards the middle of the room, forms were placed, covered with red cloth, for seats for the Members, and were all alike without distinction, and reached upwards. Three parts of the length of the hall, in the midst between the seats, was a space or lane broad enough for three to walk abreast together. At the upper end of the hall, on a foot-pace three steps high, covered with foot-carpets, stood the chair of state, all of massy silver, a rich cushion in it, and a canopy of crimson velvet richly embroidered over it. On the left side of the chair of state were placed five ordinary chairs of crimson velvet, without arms, for the five Ricks-officers ; and on the same side below them, and on the other side from the foot-pace down to the forms, in a semicircular form, were stools of crimson velvet for the Ricks-Senators.

About nine o'clock there entered at the lower end of the great hall a plain, lusty man in his boor's habit, with a staff in his hand, followed by about eighty boors, Members of this Council, who had chosen the first man for their Marshal, or Speaker. These marched up in the open place between the forms to the midst of them, and then the Marshal and his company sat down on the forms on the right of the State, from the midst downwards to the lower end of the hall, and put on their hats. A little while after them entered at the same door a man in a civil habit of a citizen, with a staff in his hand, followed by about a hundred and

twenty citizens, deputies of the cities and boroughs, who had chosen him to be their Marshal. They all took their places upon the forms over-against the boors in the lower end of the hall, and were covered. Not long after, at the same door, entered a proper gentleman richly habited, a staff in his hand, who was Marshal of the Nobility, followed by near two hundred lords and gentlemen, Members of the Ricksdag, chief of their respective families, many of them rich in clothes, of civil deportment. They took their seats uppermost on the right of the State, and whilst they walked up to their forms the citizens and boors stood up uncovered; and when the nobility sat and put on their hats, the citizens and boors did so likewise. A little after, at the same door, entered the Archbishop of Upsal with a staff in his hand, who by his place is Marshal of the Clergy. He was followed by five or six other bishops and all the superintendents, and about sixty Ministers, Deputies, or Proctors of the Clergy. While they walked up to their places all the rest of the Members stood up uncovered; and when they sat down on the uppermost forms on the left side of the State, and put on their hats and caps, the rest of the Members did the like; these were grave men, in their long cassocks and canonical habit, and most with long beards.

All the Members being thus sat, about a quarter of an hour after entered the Captain, followed by divers of the Queen's Guard, with partisans. After them came many gentlemen of the Queen's servants, uncovered, with swords by their sides and well clad, two and two together. After them came the Ricks-Senators in their order, the puisne first. After them the

Ricks-officers, all bare. After them came the Queen, and kept off her hat in the hall, some of the officers of the Court and pages after her. In this order they went up in the open place in the midst of the forms, all the Members standing up uncovered. The Queen's company made a lane for her to pass through, and she went up to her chair and sat down in it; and all the company, except the members of the Council, went out of the hall, and all the doors were shut; the Members sat in their places uncovered.

After the Queen had sat a little, she rose, and beckoned to the Chancellor to come to her, who came with great ceremony and respect; and after a little speaking together he returned to his place, and the Queen sat down again a little time; then rising up with mettle, she came forward to the utmost part of the foot-pace, and with a good grace and confidence spake to the Assembly, as it was interpreted to White-locke, to this effect:—

The
Queen's
speech.

“The occasion, my friends, wherefore you are called together to this Diet will in some sort appear strange to you; for being so unusual, and as it were unheard of, it cannot be understood without great astonishment. But, Gentlemen, when you shall a little reflect upon what hath passed some years since, you will then perceive that it is no new thing, but long since premeditated, and by me wished and intended.

“It is sufficiently known to you what hath formerly passed as to the succession of my most dear cousin to this kingdom; and I esteem myself very happy that all things at present are in such a posture that thereupon I may bring my purpose to effect, which is, to offer and to give into the hands of my most dear cousin our most dear country and the royal seat, with the crown, the sceptre, and the government. I need not repeat this subject to you; it sufficeth

that all may be done for the good of the country and the prosperity and security of my most dear cousin, to whom you have formerly given this right, and have found him capable to govern you and this kingdom, which he deserves by his great spirits and rare qualities, joined with his heroic actions, witnessed by divers encounters.

“And since there is nothing wanting but time to put in execution the succession of my most dear cousin to the government of this kingdom, which depends only upon myself,—and of my purpose nothing remains but to make you parties, which is the only occasion of my calling you together, and which I shall more at large declare unto you by my proposal,—I doubt not but you will consent thereunto, whereby you will testify at this time, as you have done at all times before, your faithfulness and obedience to me.

“Also I give you thanks that, with so much duty, you are come to this Diet, and that with so much affection and loyalty you have demeaned yourselves towards me and our most dear country during my government, so that I have received much content by your deportment; and if in these ten years of my administration I have merited anything from you, it shall be this only which I desire of you, that you will consent to my resolution, since you may assure yourselves that none can dissuade me from my purpose.

“You may be pleased also to take in good part what hath passed during the time of my government, and to be assured that herein also, as well as in all other things, my intention hath been always to serve our most dear country. There remains nothing but my wishes that all may work to the glory of God, to the advancement of the Christian Church, and to the good and prosperity of our most dear country and of all her inhabitants.”

After the Queen had spoken she sat down again, and after a little pause the Archbishop of Upsal went out of his place into the open passage, and making his

The Archbishop's speech.

obeisance to the Queen, he, as Marshal of the Clergy and in their name, made an oration to her Majesty, which was somewhat long ; but the effect thereof was interpreted to Whitelocke to be an acknowledgment of the happy reign of her Majesty, whereby her subjects had enjoyed all good, peace, and justice and liberty, and whatsoever were the products of a blessed government. He then recited the great affections of this people to the King her father, and to her Majesty his only child ; their duty and obedience to her in all her commands ; that no prince could be more happy than her Majesty was in the affections and duty of her subjects, nor could any people be more contented in the rule of their sovereign than her people were ; he therefore used all arguments and humble entreaties to her Majesty to desist from her intention of resigning the government, and to continue to sway the sceptre of this kingdom, wherein he did not doubt but that the blessing of God would be with her as it had been, and that it would be to His honour and to the good of this kingdom if her Majesty would hearken to the humble desires of the clergy in this particular. Then he acknowledged the virtues and admirable abilities of the Prince, whose succession would come in due time ; that, her Majesty reigning at present with so much satisfaction both to this Church and State, he humbly desired, in the name of the clergy, that she would be pleased, though to her own trouble, yet for her subjects' good, to continue still to be Queen over them. After he had ended his speech, making three congees, he went up to the Queen and kissed her hand, and with three more congees returned to his place.

Then the Marshal of the Nobility, going forth into

the open place between the forms, made his oration in the name of the nobility, much to the same purpose as the Archbishop had done, and, after his oration ended, with the like ceremony kissed her Majesty's hand, and returned to his place. Then the like was done by the Marshal of the Burgesses, and all to the same effect.

In the last place stepped forth the Marshal of the Boors, a plain country fellow, in his clouted shoon, and all other habits answerable, as all the rest of his company were accoutred. This boor, without any congees or ceremony at all, spake to her Majesty, and was interpreted to Whitelocke to be after this phrase :—

*The Boor's
speech.*

"O Lord God, Madam, what do you mean to do? It troubles us to hear you speak of forsaking those that love you so well as we do. Can you be better than you are? You are Queen of all these countries, and if you leave this large kingdom, where will you get such another? If you should do it (as I hope you won't for all this), both you and we shall have cause, when it is too late, to be sorry for it. Therefore my fellows and I pray you to think better on't, and to keep your crown on your head, then you will keep your own honour and our peace; but if you lay it down, in my conscience you will endanger all. Continue in your gears, good Madam, and be the fore-horse as long as you live, and we will help you the best we can to bear your burden.

"Your father was an honest gentleman and a good king, and very stirring in the world; we obeyed him and loved him as long as he lived; and you are his own child, and have governed us very well, and we love you with all our hearts; and the Prince is an honest gentleman, and when his time comes we shall be ready to do our duties to him as we do to you; but as long as you live we are not willing to part with you, and therefore I pray, Madam, do not part with us."

When the boor had ended his speech, he waddled up to the Queen without any ceremony, took her by the

hand and shook it heartily, and kissed it two or three times ; then turning his back to her, he pulled out of his pocket a foul handkerchief and wiped the tears from his eyes, and in the same posture as he came up he returned back to his own place again.

When the orations were all ended, one of the Queen's secretaries, by her command, read unto the Assembly a paper, which Whitelocke procured to be given to him in a copy, and translated into English.

The
Queen's
declaration
to the Diet.

The Proposition of her Majesty of Sweden to the Estates assembled at Upsal the 11th of May, in the year 1654.

" Since for certain reasons her Majesty found it good and necessary to assemble the Estates of the Kingdom at this time, and that they have given testimony of their obedience in their coming together, her Majesty hath great cause to rejoice that the good God hath preserved our country from all apparent harms, and principally from the contagious sickness of the plague, which spread itself in divers places the last autumn, but at present is ceased, so that we may meet together in all safety. Her Majesty rejoiceth in the good health of her faithful subjects ; and this obligeth us not only to return humble thanks to our good God, but the more to supplicate Him for the future to avert his fatherly chastisements from us.

" Also her Majesty understands with great joy, that the scarcity and dearth in the late years is now changed into fruitfulness and abundance, so that the last year there was not only very great abundance of all things which the earth produceth, but further, thanks be to God, we have cause, according to appearances, to hope this year will be no less fruitful ; the which great blessing of God to this country clearly shows us the great obligations which we have to Him.

" Also her Majesty calls to mind, that which she graciously mentions to her faithful subjects, how the country,

within the limits thereof, is at present in a good and peaceable condition, and so hath been kept by Divine Providence, and the faithful care of her Majesty, in times of danger; and when war, and the imminent perils accompanying the same roundabout us, had the sway, yet we always continued in quiet without taking part in others' quarrels, and for this end hath always endeavoured to entertain a sincere friendship and good correspondence with her neighbours and allies.

"And as to the neighbourhood of Denmark, her Majesty hath nothing to fear, since she hath given no occasion in anything but of sincere friendship and firm peace.

"In like manner, with all possible care, by her Commissioners, hath composed the differences touching the limits between her and the Great Duke of Muscovy; and although the said Duke hath signified to her Majesty by divers envoys that he would justify the expedition of war newly made by him against the Polanders, with all the reasons thereof, yet since that is a business which can no way involve her Majesty and the Crown of Sweden, there is no cause to fear it; provided their actions be watched, and and that, by little and little, preparation be made, if there shall be cause to apply some remedies.

"With the King and Crown of Poland is continued the amnesty for twenty-six years, formerly accorded; and although her Majesty wisheth that this amnesty had been converted into a perpetual peace,—and for this end she hath caused pains to be taken twice at Lübeck, by the mediators and her Commissioners, and although they are not yet agreed,—nevertheless her Majesty understands so much on the part of Poland that they are not disaffected to the renewing of the treaties for a longer time, so that her Majesty hath no cause but to promise herself at length a favourable success therein.

"With the Emperor and Roman Empire her Majesty, since the peace executed in Germany, hath continued and maintained good amity and correspondence; and for this

end she hath her ambassadors there, who have their places in the present Diet for the principality of Bremen, Verden, and Pomerland, among the other members of the empire who do there maintain and observe the interests of her Majesty; and for the conclusion of the peace of Germany her Majesty hath resolved, by a great embassy, to accept the possession and investiture, from the Emperor, of the conquered countries.

“Also her Majesty hath a good correspondence and friendship with France and Spain by fit means and a good alliance.

“But particularly her Majesty rejoiceth that the perilous war made in the ocean between the powerful Commonwealths of England and the United Provinces (by which we have received very great damage in our trade throughout, as it appeareth) is appeased and ended; and that, since, her Majesty hath made an alliance with the Commonwealth of England for the security of navigation and commerce, so that the faithful subjects of her Majesty may thereby hope to have great advantage and profit.

“In this posture and state of affairs, her Majesty thinks it fit to prosecute her intention, which she hath conceived some years since, and to put the same in execution, that is, to give up the kingdom of Sweden and her sceptre to his Royal Highness, the most high, most illustrious Prince Charles Gustavus, by the grace of God designed hereditary Prince of the kingdom of Sweden, Count Palatine of the Rhine in Bavaria, Prince of Jülich, Cleves, and Bergen; and this is the only business which her Majesty hath to propose to her faithful subjects at this time.

“Her Majesty also hath this gracious confidence in all the Estates here now assembled, that when they shall consider with what dexterity, pains, and travail her Majesty for ten years hath managed the affairs of this kingdom, and with such good fortune that all the counsels and intentions of her Majesty have been followed with such happy success, that the State, with great honour and repu-

tation, hath escaped many difficulties of war, and yet enjoys such quiet, that they cannot judge or conclude that her Majesty would now make any alteration were it not for the good and safety of this nation.

"The Estates, which have been formerly assembled, know very well how earnestly her Majesty pressed that the kingdom and government might be provided of a successor, thereby to avoid and cut off the sudden accidents which happen when a government is uncertain; for which reason the Estates in that point did agree and think good heretofore that his Highness should be chosen and made hereditary Prince and successor to the crown. All this her Majesty did propose and urge till it was brought to the effect which that time produced.

"And to the end that her Majesty, during her life, may have the pleasure to see the happy effect of this design, and that the entire government may be rendered into the hands of his Royal Highness, therefore her Majesty hath resolved to quit the crown and the privileges of it, and to put them into the hands of his Royal Highness.

"And although this resolution of her Majesty may seem strange and unexpected to the Estates of the kingdom, nevertheless, according to her gracious confidence, she believes that they will consent to her quiet in retiring herself from so heavy a burden, by their contributing an assent to the proposed alteration.

"Her Majesty likewise assures herself (as the Estates by their former acts have always testified) of the esteem which they have of the person and of the rare virtues and well-known qualities of his Royal Highness; and that they will find that he will employ them to a prudent government and to their great advantage, and that at length they will not be deceived by this change, or any ways prejudiced: for which end her Majesty promiseth and offereth to contribute all her advice and counsel and endeavour,—chiefly that his Royal Highness, before his entry into the government, may assure the Estates and effectually do that which

the Kings of Sweden upon the like occasions have used to do, and are by the laws and customs obliged unto.

“And on the other part, that the Estates and all the subjects of Sweden be obliged to render unto his Royal Highness that respect, obedience, and all those rights which appertain to a King, and which they are obliged to perform.

“And as her Majesty hath considered and resolved upon the means whereby her Majesty may enjoy a yearly pension to be settled upon her during her life, and having communicated her purpose therein to his Royal Highness the successor to the crown, so she graciously hopeth that her faithful subjects and the Estates will be content therewith, humbly receiving and consenting to what her Majesty hath graciously disposed.

“Her Majesty graciously requires all the Estates of the kingdom that they would, as soon as may be, consider this business, to the end that the resolution taken by her Majesty may in a short time be brought unto effect.

“Her Majesty most graciously thanks all her faithful subjects for the obedience, honour, and respect which every one of them hath faithfully testified to her Majesty during the time of her government; so that her Majesty hath received full contentment by their most humble demeanour, which hereafter, upon all occasions, she will acknowledge with all gratitude.

“Her Majesty also hopeth that her most faithful subjects will be satisfied, and give a good construction of the faithful care which her Majesty hath employed for all in general and their happiness, and chiefly for the gracious affection which she hath testified towards every one in particular.

“Her Majesty wisheth that the most high and most powerful God would conserve and protect our dear country, with all the inhabitants thereof and all the subjects, from all harm; and to conclude, that the estates of the kingdom, as well in general as in particular, may continue and increase from day to day, and may for ever flourish.”

After this proposition was read, the Queen's servants were called in, and she went out of the hall, attended by them and the Ricks-Senators in the same way and manner as she came in ; and after she was gone, first the Archbishop of Upsal and the clergy following him ; second, the Marshal and Nobility ; third, the Marshal and Burgesses ; fourth, the Marshal and Boors, went out of the hall in the same order as they first came in ; and when they were all gone, Whitelocke returned to his lodging.

About eleven o'clock in the evening, the master of the ceremonies came to bring Whitelocke to the remainder of the solemnities of the marriage. The solemnities of the marriage resumed. Whitelocke, in no good condition to go abroad, having sat up the last night, yet rather than discontent the Queen and the nobility, who had sent for him, he went with the master in the Queen's coach to the bridegroom's lodging in the castle, who met him in the outer chamber and brought him into another room where were many senators and lords ; they all took their coach, and went in the same order as the day before to the Queen, where the bride and ladies were expecting them.

They came all to the great hall, where the Queen and the company took their places, and the drums beating and trumpets sounding. A gentleman entered the hall carrying a spear or pike covered with taffeta of the bridegroom's colours, all but the head, which was silver, worth about twenty crowns ; he stood by the bride, holding the spear in the middle, both ends of it about breast-high, and the bridegroom was brought and placed by his bride. Then Senator Bundt made a solemn speech to the Queen, which (according to the

interpretation made to Whitelocke) was to thank her Majesty for the favour which she did to the bride and bridegroom in permitting the nuptials to be in her Court; and he acquainted the Queen, and published to the company, what dowry the bridegroom had given that morning to his bride, with two thousand ducats for her provision; and that twelve of the nobility, of the alliance and friends to them both, were witnesses thereunto, and were to take care that the money should be disposed to the use of the wife and children, in case she survived her husband.

Then a gentleman read aloud the names of the twelve witnesses, who, as they were called one after another, making their honours to the Queen, went and laid their right hands on the spear; and then was published the dowry and augmentation thus by these twelve witnesses. After this the spear was laid down at the feet of the bride, and all, making their solemn reverences to the Queen, took again their places. Then the same gentleman that laid down the spear, took it up again and threw it out of the window into the great court; where a multitude of people stood expecting it, and scrambled for the head of it, and for the taffeta, which they tore in pieces and wore in their hats as the bride's favours.

After this ceremony ended, the bridegroom came and took the bride by the hand, and they marched after the torches to the sound of the drums and trumpets; after that the bridegroom took the Queen by the hand, and the bride came and took the English Ambassador by the hand, and other noblemen took their several ladies, and they marched two and two amidst the torches and to the same loud music as they had

done the night before. After this the noblemen and ladies went to dance French dances and country dances; but Whitelocke having watched the night before, and not being well, he privately withdrew himself from the company and retired to his house, wondering that the Queen, after so serious a work as she had been at in the morning, could be so pleased with this evening's ceremonies.

May 12, 1654.

About one o'clock the last night, Whitelocke, coming from the solemnities of the Court, received two packets of letters from England. He had the more cause to remember the time, because then, although midnight, he could perfectly read his letters without any candle or other light than that of the heavens, which in this season of the year scarce leaves any night at all, but so as one may well read all the night long with the help of twilight.

*Despatches
from Eng-
land.*

The letters from Thurloe of the first date acquainted Whitelocke that now he had sent duplicates of the last instructions by a ship going to Sweden. In Thurloe's second letters, dated 13th of April, he mentions the instructions sent formerly to Whitelocke, and acquaints him again with the effect of them, and the Protector's order, by which he leaves it to Whitelocke to return home when he shall judge it fit; and that if he should stay the ceremonies of the coronation of the new King, it would occasion great delay. And he writes further:—

“But in truth we cannot believe, notwithstanding all that is said, that her Majesty will quit her crown, being so well

qualified in all respects to govern as she is, and seems to be very well accepted of her people."

Then he again mentions the signing of the peace with the Dutch, and that the Protector had appointed Commissioners to treat with the French, Spanish, and Portugal Ambassadors, but had not yet declared himself to any of his neighbours.

"That the business in Scotland was well ; that the Protector had taken away Colonel Rich's commission, whereof the officers of his regiment were glad ; that many congratulatory petitions to his Highness came from divers counties, one from Bucks ; that the Protector proceeded to reformation of the law and ministry, and I hope he will merit as well in that as in the military affairs. I return your Excellence my humble thanks for your acceptance of my endeavours to serve you ; I can say they come from an honest heart, which very really embraceth every opportunity wherein I may manifest myself

" Your Excellence's faithful humble servant,

" JO. THURLOE.

" *Whitehall, 13th April, 1654.*"

Whitelocke received several letters in these packets from Mr. Cokaine ; one, dated the 2nd of April, saith thus :—

" You will have leave from his Highness to take your first opportunity to come away, and I hope it will not be without bringing your business to a happy and an honourable issue, which is the constant subject of our requests to the Lord for you, and I doubt not but we shall have a comfortable answer. In the meantime I think, as I have hinted to your Excellence in former letters, it will not be amiss if you draw good store of bills upon us, though but *pro forma*, that we may get as much money for you as we can before your return, and that you may have a sufficient overplus to pay all servants' wages off, which I believe will

amount to a considerable sum ; and upon this peace I hope it will be no hard matter to get your bills paid, especially if your Excellence please withal to write to my Lord Protector and Mr. Thurloe and some of the Council about it. I could wish that you would make what haste you can home, for I am informed by a special hand that there is great labouring to make a Chancellor whilst you are absent, and to take that opportunity to put you by, whom I believe they doubt to be too much a Christian and an Englishman to trust in their service ; but I hope God will give you a heart to submit to His will, and to prize a good conscience above all the world, which will indeed stand us in stead when all outward things cannot in the least administer to us.

“ Your Excellence’s most humble servant ;

“ GEO. COKAINE.

“ *April 2nd.*”

In another letter from Mr. Cokaine he saith :—

“ Mr. Thurloe was pleased to acquaint me that it was his Highness and the Council’s pleasure to make some alteration in the Chancery ; that it was determined that your Lordship and Sir Thomas Widdrington and my Lord Lisle should have the custody of the Great Seal, and I believe an Act to that purpose will pass within few hours ; but I perceive this business was not done without some tugging ; but my Lord Protector and John Thurloe are true to you, and now I am out of all fears that any affront should be offered you in your absence. Mr. Mackworth deserves a letter from you ; but nothing, I pray, of this business. Indeed Mr. Thurloe hath played his part gallantly and like a true friend, for which I shall love him as long as I live.”

In other letters from Mr. Cokaine in this packet, dated 14th April, he saith :—

“ Your old servant Abel is much courted by his Highness to be his Falconer-in-Chief ; but he will not accept it

except your Excellence had been here to give him your explicit leave to serve his Highness, and told me, without stuttering, he would not serve the greatest prince in the world except your Excellence were present, to make the bargain that he might wait upon you with a cast of hawks at the beginning of September every year into Bedfordshire. It is pity that gallantry should hurt any. Certainly it is a noble profession that inspires him with such a spirit.

"My Lord Protector this week hath expressed great respect to your Excellence upon the death of the Clerk of the Peace of Bucks. Some of the justices came up and moved his Highness to put one into his place, who thereupon asked who was *Custos Rotulorum*. They answered, the Lord Ambassador Whitelocke. He thereupon replied that the place should not be disposed of till his return. They urged it again with many reasons; but he gave them the same answer, only with this addition, that he was to return sooner than perhaps they were aware of."

By this packet Whitelocke received letters from Mr. Selden, which were thus:—

"For his Excellence the Lord Whitelocke, Lord Ambassador from the State of England to her Majesty of Sweden.

"My Lord,

"Your Excellence's last of the 3rd of February brought me so unexpressible a plenty of the utmost of such happiness as consists in true reputation and honour, as that nothing with me will equal or come near it. First, that her most excellent Majesty, a Prince so unparalleled and incomparable and so justly acknowledged with the height of true admiration by all that either have or love arts or other goodness, should vouchsafe to descend to the mention of my mean name and the inquiry of my being and condition with such most gracious expressions. Next, that your Excellence, whose favours have been so continually multiplied on me, should be the person of whom such in-

quiry was made. All the danger is, that your noble affection rendered me far above myself. However, it necessitates me to become a fervent suitor to your Excellence, that if it shall fall out that her Majesty and you have again leisure and will to speak of any such trifle as I am, you will be pleased to represent to her Majesty my most humble thanks, and my heart full of devotion to her, of which I too shall study to give, if I can, some other humble testimony. God send her most excellent Majesty always her heart's desires, and the most royal amplitude of all happiness, and your Lordship a good despatch and safe and timely return.

"My Lord, your Excellence's most

"obliged and humble servant,

"JO. SELDEN.

"*Whitefriars, March 2nd, 1653.*"

Whitelocke had also in this packet letters from his old friends Mr. Hall, Mr. Eltonhead, the Lord Commissioner Lisle, his brothers Wilson and Carleton, Mr. Peters, Sir Joseph Holland, and divers others; also letters from Hamburg, from Mr. Bradshaw, the Protector's Resident there, with some intercepted letters from the King's party, as Sir Edward Hyde and several others.

This day being appointed for Whitelocke's last audience, he was habited in a plain suit of very fine English cloth of musk-colour, the buttons of gold, enamelled, and in each button a ruby, and rich points and ribbons of gold; his gentlemen were in their richest clothes; his pages and lacqueys, above twenty, in their liveries. In the afternoon two of the Ricks-Senators, with the master of the ceremonies, came with two of the Queen's coaches to Whitelocke's house, to bring him to his audience. He received them with the usual ceremony, and after they had sat a little

His audience of leave-taking.

while in his bedchamber, one of the Senators said that by the Queen's command they were come to him to accompany him to his audience which he had desired this day, and that her Majesty was ready to receive him. Whitelocke answered, that he was always desirous to wait upon her Majesty, and not the less now because it was in order to return to his own country. They made no long compliments, but went down and took their coaches.

The noblemen's coaches sent thither to accompany him went first, then followed his two coaches, and last the Queen's coaches. In the last of them sat the two Senators in the fore-end, Whitelocke in the back-end, and the master in the boot; the gentlemen in the several coaches, the pages and lacqueys walking and riding behind the coaches. At the bridge of the castle was a guard of musketeers more than formerly, of about two companies, with their officers; they made a lane from the bridge to the end of the Court. As soon as Whitelocke was alighted out of the coach, the Ricks-Hofmeister with his silver staff met him at the stairs' foot, very many of the Queen's servants and courtiers with him very gallant. Whitelocke's gentlemen went first, two and two up the stairs; after them the Queen's servants, then the master of the ceremonies, then the Hof-Marshal, then the two Senators and Whitelocke between them, followed by his sons, his chaplains, physician, secretaries, and steward, and after them his pages and lacqueys. In this order they mounted the stairs, and through the great chamber to the guard-chamber, where the Queen's partisans stood in their rich coats, with the arms of Sweden embroidered with gold, their swords by their sides, and rich hal-

berds gilded in their hands ; they stood in a fixed posture, more like images than men. When they came to the audience-chamber, there was scarce room for any of Whitelocke's gentlemen to come in ; but by the civility of the Queen's servants room was made for them, and they made a lane from the door of the chamber to the upper end near the Queen, who was upon a footpace covered with carpets, and a rich canopy over her head. Her habit was black silk stuff for her coats, and over them a black velvet jippo, such as men use to wear ; she had upon her breast the jewel of the Order of the Knights of Amaranta ; her hair hung loose as it used to do, and her hat was after the fashion of men. A great number of senators and of civil and military officers and courtiers,—many more than ordinarily did appear at any audience,—stood all bare about her, and a few ladies were behind her. She stood upon the carpets before the state with her hat on ; and when Whitelocke came first into the room, and pulled off his hat, the Queen presently pulled off her hat ; and when Whitelocke made his honours, she answered him, though at that distance, with a short curtsy. After his three obeisances, being come up to the Queen, he kissed her hand ; then the Queen put on her hat, and Whitelocke put on his hat, and after a little pause, with high silence and solemnity in all the company, Whitelocke took off his hat, and the Queen took off her hat likewise, and all the time of his speaking both of them were uncovered. Whitelocke, having made his ceremonies, spake to the Queen thus :—

“ Madam,

“ I confess that the time of my absence from my relations and concernments in my own country would have seemed

White-
locke's
farewell
speech.

very tedious, had I not been in the public service and honoured with admittance into your Majesty's presence, whose favours, answerable to your greatness though above my merit, have been enlarged towards me during the whole time of my residence under the just and safe protection of your Majesty; the which,—with the civilities of those most excellent persons with whom I treated, and of those who have been pleased to honour me with their acquaintance in your Court,—I shall not fail to acknowledge with all respect.

“But, Madam, to your Majesty I shall not presume to return any other acknowledgment than by the thanks of my Lord the Protector, who is able to judge of the affection shown to him, and to the Commonwealth whereof he is the head, by the honour done unto their servant.

“Madam, it is your great judgement in the public interest, and your desire to advance the good of your own State and that of your neighbours, and the particular respect that you bear to my master, whereby the business trusted to my care by his Highness is brought to such an issue as I hope will be a solid foundation of great and mutual prosperity to both these nations.

“I have nothing to add on my part, but to entreat that my failings and errors, not wilfully committed, may be excused; to take my leave of your Majesty, and to assure you that there is no person who honours you more than I do, and who shall be more ready to lay hold on any opportunity whereby I may endeavour, to the utmost of my power, to contribute to the happiness and prosperity of your royal Majesty and of your people.”

As it was done at Whitelocke's first audience, so he now ordered it, that Monsieur De la Marche, one of his chaplains, did, at the end of every sentence, as Whitelocke spake, interpret the same to the Queen in French. During all the time of his speaking to the Queen she looked him wistly in the face and came up very near unto him, as she had done at his first audience,—perhaps to have daunted him, as she had

done others, but he was not daunted ; and when he had made an end of speaking, after a little pause the Queen answered him in the Swedish language, which was then interpreted in Latin to Whitelocke, to this effect :—

“ My Lord Ambassador,

The
Queen's
reply.

“ It may well be that your stay in this place, where you have been so ill accommodated, and your absence from your near relations and native country, hath been tedious to you; but I can assure you that your residence in my Court hath been a contentment to myself and to those who have had the honour to converse with you in this place; and it would have been a blemish to me and to all under my government if in this time anything of injury or danger had fallen out to your person or to any of your people. I hope I may say that there hath been no such thing offered to you, and I am glad of it.

“ I do not know that your judgement hath deceived you in anything but this, that you have too great a value of my understanding of public affairs. It hath been your prudent management of the business committed to your trust by the Protector, and my particular respects to him and to your Commonwealth, with the good inclinations of the people of this country towards you, and the general interests of the Protestant party, which have brought your business to effect, and which, I hope, will occasion much good and happiness to these nations and to all the Evangelical party. And truly, Sir, your demeanour on all occasions requires from us this testimony, that we have found much honour and great abilities to be in you; and I should be very unwilling to part with so good company, were it not in order to your own satisfaction for your return to England.

“ I know no errors committed by you here, but desire your excuse of the want of those expressions of our respect which this place would not afford. The thanks are due to you for your patience, and for the affection which you have

testified to me and to this nation, from whom you may depend upon a firm friendship and amity, with a true respect to the Protector and Commonwealth of England, and an honourable esteem of yourself in particular, to whom we wish a safe and prosperous return to your own country."

After the Queen had done speaking, Whitelocke had some private discourse of compliment with her in French, to give her Majesty thanks for her noble treatment of him and many favours to him; then, according to the usage of this Court, he delivered to Mr. Lagerfeldt, standing by, a copy of his speech, in English, signed by him with his hand, and another copy of his speech in Latin, not signed by him, to be presented to the Queen. Then Whitelocke took his leave, and kissed her Majesty's hand, who gave him the *adieu* with great respect and civility. He was conducted back to his coach with the same ceremony as he was brought to his audience; and the same two senators, with the master of the ceremonies, returned with him to his house, and after usual compliments passed between them, they returned to the Court.

The trouble of the day was not yet ended; but after Whitelocke had come from the Court, Lagerfeldt brought to him the articles touching Guinea which were agreed upon and signed and sealed by the Queen's Commissioners, as the other part of them was by Whitelocke.*

* "I, the subscribed Bulstrode Whitelocke, Constable of the Castle of Windsor, and one of the Keepers of the Great Seal of the Commonwealth of England, Commissioner, Procurator, Deputy, and Extraordinary Ambassador of the Most Serene and Most High Lord Oliver, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereof and the said Commonwealth, do make known and testify, that whereas by the treaty of alliance between the said Most Serene and my Most High Lord Oliver, Lord

After the great toil of this busy day, a yet greater toil must be undergone by Whitelocke to make his despatches for England. By his letters to Thurloe he again acquainted the Council with the good conclusion of his treaty, and with his taking leave of the Queen in his last audience; and sent him copies of the speeches, and gave an account of the business of Guinea, with all material passages since his last letters, and his resolution and way of return home. He also answered the letters of every one of his friends, which were very many; but that to his wife, as he was afterwards informed, caused much trouble and passion, that by this date of the letter, 12th May, she perceived that he was not removed from Upsal in his journey to return homewards.

Protector, and the Most Serene and Most Potent Prince and Lady the Lady Christina, by the grace of God Queen of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, etc., a firm peace and friendship is established: and I have judged it chiefly consonant thereunto to find out means to remove certain grievances of the people and citizens of either State, and to take away all grounds and occasions thereof which may arise in time to come. Therefore, upon some differences moved, I have agreed with the most illustrious and most excellent Lords, Plenipotentiary Commissioners and Senators of her said Royal Majesty and of Sweden, the Lord Axel Oxenstiern, Chancellor of the kingdom, etc., and the Lord Eric Oxenstiern, son of Axel, President of the General College of Trade, etc., in manner as by the following articles is expressed and explained.

"First, whereas a certain company of English exercising merchandise in Guinea have complained of one Henry Carelove, who, being Governor of the Swedish Company in that country, did take away from the English certain places inhabited by them, and did other injuries to them; but the said Swedish Company not only took upon them to prove that the before-named Governor did commit no fault, but likewise made complaint of grievances against the officers of the said English Company; but these particular differences of merchants at this time could not for certain reasons be wholly determined, and therefore it seemed most counselable to both parties that in a friendly

May 13, 1654.

Whitelocke
takes leave
of his
friends.

Whitelocke began his visits and compliments to take his leave of his friends in this Court; and herein he was to be very exact, and not to omit any one who had given him the honour of former visits. He, to be the less subject to mistakes, set down in writing the names of those whom he was to visit, which made a long catalogue; but he must get through it, as part of the business of an ambassador. And this day he began by visiting the French and Holland Residents, and the Grave Leonhough, whose discourses were concerning the peace between England and the Dutch, the English strong fleet at sea, of the Queen's resignation, and other general themes not necessary to be repeated.

way, without any indirect courses, they may be composed by certain Commissioners on both sides. In the meantime it is agreed that the differing hereof shall be to the prejudice of none of either part, so that neither the fellows or officers of the said companies nor any subjects or citizens of either State shall offer any injury or molestation to one another in Guinea, or in the free commerce or travelling there; but, as before is expressed, the determination of the differences being referred by both sides to the superiors, they may live friendly among themselves, and treat one another with that goodwill which is consonant to the league concluded between them. The same also shall be observed in America between the colonies of New Sweden and of the English, that they do embrace a sincere friendship, and that either party do abstain from all troubles and injuries to the other, but chiefly that they do endeavour their mutual preservation until there be a clear agreement before the deputed Commissioners on both sides about the limits of the colonies, and other rules of friendship that shall be requisite, together with other affairs of particular persons. Which matters, that they may be enjoined to all and singular the subjects and citizens of either State, and may be observed by them, I have fully taken upon me by these presents, by virtue of my commission, and do confirm by subscription of my hand, and by my seal."

Woolfeldt gave a visit to Whitelocke and discoursed <sup>The Sound
Duce.</sup> on the same subjects, but more particularly of the interest of England and the payment of toll to the King of Denmark at the Sound, wherein Whitelocke had good information from him, and such as, if it had been hearkened unto, would have been of great advantage to the Protector and Commonwealth of England. So great an interest Whitelocke had gained in the affection and friendship of this gentleman, that he would not conceal from him anything that he knew, who knew more than any other that Whitelocke met with concerning the Sound, the King of Denmark, the Court and courtiers here, or whatsoever related to Whitelocke's business and to England.

May 14, 1654.

This Lord's Day Sir George Fleetwood did Whitelocke the favour to bear him company at his house, and told him that the Queen and her Lords were pleased with his deportment at his last audience, and with his speech then made, which they commended, but is here omitted. He and others also acquainted Whitelocke that the Queen took great pleasure at his carriage at the solemnity of the nuptials at Court, and that he would dance with them ; and both the Queen and her courtiers said that the English Ambassador knew how to lay aside the gravity of an ambassador when he pleased, and could play the courtier with as good a grace as any one that ever they saw, with much to the like effect.

May 15, 1654.

Whitelocke visited Marshal Wrangel and General

A private
audience of
the Queen.

Wittenberg, and went from thence to the castle to visit Grave Tott, who told him that the Queen had altered her purpose of sending him into England, and would do him the honour to retain him with her, but that yet he hoped in a short time to see England. Whitelocke said he should be glad to meet him, and to do him service there. They discoursed of the Queen's residence in Pomerland, or some other place near this country, and of the discommodities and inconveniences which would arise thereby. Whitelocke told him that if the Queen had leisure, that he should be glad to wait on her; and Tott went presently to know her pleasure, and promised to bring word to Whitelocke if he might see the Queen, and did it at the Lady Jane Ruthven's lodging, whither Whitelocke was gone to take his leave of that lady; whence he brought Whitelocke to the traverse of the wardrobe, where her Majesty came to him and conducted him into her bedchamber, where they thus discoursed:—

Whitelocke. I humbly thank your Majesty for admitting me to be present at the meeting of the Ricksdag.

Queen. How did you like the manner and proceedings of it when you were there?

Wh. It was with the greatest gravity and solemnity that I ever saw in any public assembly, and well becoming persons of their quality and interest.

Qu. There be among them very considerable persons, and wise men.

Wh. Such an assembly requires such men, and their carriage showed them to be such; but, Madam, I expected that your Chancellor, after he spake with your Majesty, should, according to the course in our

Parliaments, have declared, by your direction, the causes of the Council's being summoned.

Qu. It belongs to the office of the Chancellor with us to do it ; and when I called him to me, it was to desire him to do it.

Wh. How then came it to pass that he did it not, when his place and your Majesty required it ?

Qu. He desired to be excused, and gave me this reason, that he had taken an oath to my father to use his utmost endeavour to keep the crown on my head, and that the cause of my calling this Diet was to have their consents for me to quit the Crown ; that if he should make this proposition to them, it would be contrary to the oath which he had taken to my father, and therefore he could not do it.

Wh. Did not your Majesty expect this answer ?

Qu. Not at all, but was wholly surprised by it ; and when the Ricksdag were met, my Chancellor thus excusing himself, there was nobody appointed by me to declare to them the cause of their meeting ; but rather than the Assembly should be put off, and nothing done, I plucked up my spirits the best I could, and spake to them on the sudden as you heard, although much to my disadvantage.

Wh. Indeed, Madam, you were much surprised ; and I cannot but wonder that you should have no intimation given you beforehand of your Chancellor's resolution ; but your Majesty will pardon me if I believe it proved no disadvantage to you, when I had the honour to see and hear with how excellent a grace and how prince-like your Majesty, in so great an assembly and on a sudden, delivered your mind and purpose.

Qu. You are apt to make the best construction of

it; you see I did adventure upon it, remembering that they were my subjects, and I their Queen.

Wh. Madam, you spake and acted like yourself, and were highly complimented by the several Marshals, but above all the rest by the honest boor.

Qu. Was you so taken with his clownery?

Wh. It seemed to me as pure and clear natural eloquence, without any forced strain, as could be expressed.

Qu. Indeed there was little else but what was natural, and by a well-meaning man, who has understanding enough in his country way.

Wh. Whosoever shall consider his matter more than his form will find that the man understands his business; and the garment or phrase wherewith he clothed his matter, though it was rustic, yet the variety and plain elegancy and reason could not but affect his auditors.

Qu. I think he spake from his heart.

Wh. I believe he did, and acted so too, especially when he wiped his eyes.

Qu. He showed his affection to me in that posture more than greater men did in their spheres.

Wh. Madam, we must look upon all men to work according to their present interest; and so I suppose do the great men here as well as elsewhere.

Qu. Here I have had experience enough of such actings; I shall try what they do in other places, and content myself, however I shall find it.

Wh. Your Majesty will not expect to find much difference in the humours of men, as to seeking themselves, and neglecting those from whom they have received favours.

Qu. It will be no otherwise than what I am armed

to bear and not to regard ; but your particular respects I shall always remember with gratefulness.

Wh. Your Majesty shall ever find me your faithful servant. Do you intend, Madam, to go from hence to Pomerland ?

Qu. My intentions are to go presently, after my resignation, to the Spa ; but wheresoever I am, you have a true friend of *mé*.

Wh. There is no person alive more cordially your Majesty's servant than I am.

Qu. I do believe it, or else I should not have communicated to you such things as I have done.

Wh. Your Majesty hath therein expressed much confidence in me, which I hope shall never deceive you, however my want of abilities may not answer your Majesty's favours to me.

Qu. I have no doubt of your faithfulness, and you have sufficiently manifested your abilities. Give me leave to trouble you with the company of a gentleman, my servant, whom I purpose to send over with you to England, to take care for those things which I desire to have from thence.

Wh. He shall be very welcome to me and my company, and I shall give him my best assistance for your Majesty's service.

Qu. I shall thank you for it, and command him to obey your directions.

Wh. Madam, if you please to accept a set of black English horses for your coach, I shall take the boldness to send them to your stables ; and pray your Majesty that the Master of your Horse may furnish me for my journey to Stockholm.

Qu. I do thankfully accept your kindness, and all mine are at your service.

Wh. I have interrupted your Majesty too long. I desired the favour of this opportunity to present my most humble thanks to your Majesty for all your noble favours to me and my company.

Qu. I entreat your excuse for the meanness of my presents. I could not do therein what I desired, nor after your merit.

Wh. Madam, there is nothing of my merit to be alleged; but your Majesty hath testified much honour to the Protector and Commonwealth whom I serve.

Qu. England is a noble country, and your master is a gallant man. I desire you to assure him, on my part, of all affection and respect towards him.

Wh. Your Majesty may be confident of the like from his Highness; and your humble servant will heartily pray for your Majesty's prosperity, wherever you are.

Qu. I wish you a happy voyage and return to your own country.

After he came from the Queen, Whitelocke met with the Baron Steinberg, Master of her Horse, whom he acquainted with what he had moved to her Majesty, and he was very forward to accommodate Whitelocke.

Discourses
with Grave
Eric on
the customs
of Swedish
nuptials.

From hence he went and visited Grave Eric Oxenstiern, who discoursed with him about the solemnity of the nuptials at Court, and asked him how he liked it.

Wh. They were very noble; but I pray, my noble brother, instruct me what the meaning was of the dowry given by the bridegroom to the bride the next morning; and what do you call that dowry?

Gr. Eric. By the ancient custom of this country, the next morning after the wedding-night the husband

bestows upon his wife a gift of money according to his estate, to show how he is pleased with the cohabitation, and to make some provision, in case of his death before her, for the wife, and children which he shall have by her ; and this we call a *morgen-gaven*—a morning's gift.

Wh. The same word *morgen-gaven* is in the old terms of our English laws, and expounded to signify a second dowry, and hath much affinity with this of yours and in that of your twelve witnesses who testified the contract of marriage and the *morgen-gaven*; to which our trials by twelve men, whom we call juries because they are sworn, are somewhat like, and they are so many witnesses as well as judges of the fact.

Gr. Eric. I believe your customs and ours had the same original.

Wh. I find much resemblance between them and yours. What do you call the twelve that laid their hands on the spear?

Gr. Eric. We call them the twelve witnesses (*les douze témoins*).

Wh. What do you call the spear or pike which the gentleman held?

Gr. Eric. We call it *weppun*.

Wh. We have the same word, weapon, for all manner of arms and warlike instruments. What do you call the laying of their hands upon the spear?

Gr. Eric. We call it *tack*,—*weppun-tack*, to touch the spear.

Wh. We have also the word *tack*, for touching ; and we have, in the northern parts of England, a particular precinct or territory which we call a Wapentake, and a territorial court of justice there which we call a

Wapentake Court ; and a very learned gentleman from whom I received letters in my last packet, Selden, derives the name of Wapentake from *weapon* and *tack* ; and saith they used to come to that court with their weapons, and to touch one another's weapons, from whence came the appellation of Wapentake.

Gr. Eric. Tacitus observes that at the public assemblies and councils of the Germans, they used to meet with their weapons, and when anything was said that pleased them they would touch one another's spears or weapons, and thereby make a noise, to testify their consent and approbation.

Wh. Your ceremony of laying down the spear at the feet of the bride puts me in mind of another passage in Tacitus, 'De Moribus Germanorum ;' that when a man was married, he used to bring his arms and lay them at the feet of his bride, to signify that he would not take them up nor go forth to war, being newly married, without the leave of his wife, to whom he had now given the command of himself and of his arms.

Gr. Eric. Our customs and those of the ancient Germans have much resemblance ; but I never heard so good observations upon the ceremonies of a wedding as your Excellence hath made.

Wh. I am delighted with these antiquities ; but your Excellence shows your opinion to be that of a brother.

From Grave Eric, Whitelocke went to visit the Senator Schütt, and Lynde, who lodged in one house, and met him at the door ; and this day he made seven visits, besides his attendance upon the Queen, hastening to get over these matters of compliment and

ceremony, that he might be upon his journey to Stockholm.

May 16, 1654.

Whitelocke visited General Douglas, who had been to visit him before, and now showed great respect unto him, and gave him many thanks for the English horse which Whitelocke had bestowed on him. After this, Whitelocke visited the Ricks-Admiral and the Senators Rosenhau and Bundt.

Whitelocke entertains a party of ladies.

In the afternoon he visited Woolfeldt, who brought Whitelocke into the room where his lady and other ladies of great quality were with her. Whitelocke imagined some design to be herein, because it was a thing so unusual to bring gentlemen and strangers into the company of their ladies ; and it fell out to be so, for Whitelocke, discoursing with the Lady Woolfeldt, who spake perfect French, she complained that she knew not where to have a place to see the entry of the Prince into Upsal. Whitelocke knowing his house to be conveniently situate for that purpose, and understanding the lady's complaint, he, to free her from the danger of not seeing that solemnity, offered to her and to the rest of the ladies in her company, to command his house, which if they pleased to honour with their presence to see the entry of the Prince, he should take it as a great favour from their Excellencies ; and the ladies readily accepted of his offer.

They presently came to Whitelocke's house. With the Lady Woolfeldt was the Countess John Oxenstiern, the Countess Eric Oxenstiern, the Countess Tott, the Baroness Gildenstiern, and seven or eight other ladies of great quality. Before the Prince came into

the town, Whitelocke caused a collation to be set on the table for the ladies, all after the English fashion, creams, tarts, butter, cheese, neats' tongues, potted venison, apples, pears, sweetmeats, and excellent wine. They ate heartily, and seemed to be much pleased with it and with the Ambassador's discourse, who strove to be cheerful with the ladies, and found it not unacceptable to them.

The entry
of the
Prince.

The Prince's entry and reception into Upsal this evening was thus:—The day before, by the Queen's command, notice was given to all the senators, the nobility, gentry, and persons of quality about the Court and in town, to come in their best equipage on horseback, at one o'clock this afternoon to the castle, to attend the Queen on her going out to meet the Prince. They accordingly resorted to the Court, a very great number, and attended the Queen forth in this order, all passing and returning by Whitelocke's window. First, Major-General Wrangel marched in the head of four troops of horse of Upland, proper men and well armed, their horses not tall but strong; every horseman carried ready in his hand one of his pistols, and his sword by his side, and most of them were well habited. Then marched Colonel Bengt Horne in the head of the gentlemen and servants of the senators and other volunteers, marching three and three abreast. After these rode about six of the Queen's kettle-drums and twelve trumpets. Then came Mr. Eric Flemming, Governor of Copperberg, Marshal of the Nobility, followed by the heads of the families of the nobles in the same order as they are matriculated in the Ricksdag. They were generally very rich in clothes and well horsed, lords and gentle-

men of principal note and consideration in their country, and members of the Ricksdag; they also rode three and three abreast. After them rode Mr. Gabriel Gabrielson, Marshal of the Court, and was followed by all the senators then in town, being about thirty, riding two and two abreast, grave in their habits for the most part, and well horsed. Then came the Ricks-Stallmaster and the Hof-Stallmaster—that is, the Master of the Horse of the Kingdom, and the Master of the Horse of the Court—riding bareheaded. After them came the Queen, gallantly mounted, habited in her usual fashion in grey stuff, her hat on her head, her pistols at her saddle-bow, and twenty-four of the Gardes-du-Corps about her person. After the Queen followed the Great Chamberlain, Grave Jacob de la Gardie, and Grave Tott, Captain of the Guards, both bareheaded. After them the Grave Donae, Gustavus Oxenstiern, and Gustavus Jean Banier, riding bareheaded. Then rode all the gentlemen of the Queen's chamber, then the pages of her chamber. After them, in the last place, marched Colonel Line, in the head of four companies of the Guards, well armed, and indifferently well habited.

In this order they marched about half a league out of town, to the place appointed to meet the Prince, who was there attending. When they came thither, Major-General Wrangel marched to the left, leaving sufficient room that the Guards might pass to the right hand, the volunteers and Queen's servants likewise turned to the left hand, and the Marshal of the Nobility to the right, with the Hof-Marshals; and all this train kept excellent order and discipline, as did the Prince's train, which was also very great.

The Prince was alighted from his horse before the Queen came very near to him. When the Queen alighted, all the senators likewise alighted from their horses, but the nobility did not alight from horseback. After his Royal Highness had kissed the Queen's hand, she discoursed a little with him, he being bare-headed all the time, and showing great respect to her as to his Queen. Then the Queen mounted again on horseback, the Prince waiting on her. The troops marched back to the town in the same order as they came forth, with great addition to their numbers. The Prince's gentlemen and servants, who were a great number, fell into the troop where those of the Queen were, betwixt her gentlemen and the senators' gentlemen,—his pages after the Queen's. Himself rode after the Queen, and sometimes she would call him (as she did in the street) to speak with him, and then he rode even with her, but all the way bareheaded whilst he rode by the Queen and she talked with him.

The Prince was in a plain grey cloth suit of a light colour, mounted upon a very brave grey horse, with pistols at his saddle and his sword by his side. The Queen's lacqueys were in rich yellow liveries; the Prince's lacqueys in blue liveries, near twenty, walking by them. There were many led horses of the Queen's and of the Prince's, and seven or eight sumpter-horses of the Prince's; the sumpter-clothes all of blue velvet, with the Prince's arms embroidered on them, and rich silver fringe about them; the grooms and sumpter-men in the same livery, about twenty of them.

In this equipage they marched through the streets of Upsal, multitudes of people being spectators of their

entry in the ways and windows. When they came to the Castle court, the nobility and volunteers alighted, and walked two and two before the Queen up into the great hall and to the antechamber; and the Queen being come into her withdrawing-room, after some little discourse there with the Prince and compliments passed, he went to the lodgings prepared for him, with not a few waiting on him who was the rising sun.

Whitelocke had spoken to the master of the ceremonies touching the saluting of the Prince and the manner of his reception, whereof he wished to know somewhat beforehand, to govern himself accordingly, and to avoid any indignity or dishonour to be put upon the Protector and Commonwealth by his person. The master having spoken to the Prince about it, brought word now to Whitelocke, that when he moved his Royal Highness touching Whitelocke's reception, the Prince said that the English Ambassador should have no cause to complain of any want of respect in his reception. The more to manifest this, about ten o'clock this evening, the Prince sent one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber, who came attended with three lacqueys, and spake to Whitelocke in French, that the Prince, his master, commanded him to salute Whitelocke in his name, and to inform him of the Prince's arrival in this place, and that it was a great satisfaction to him to hope that he should have the contentment to see the English Ambassador, and to entertain him before his departure from Sweden.

Whitelocke desired that his thanks might be returned to his Royal Highness for this honour, and that he hoped to obtain from him the favour to give him leave to salute him and to kiss his hand; that to

do this on the part of the Protector, his master, was at present the only occasion of Whitelocke's continuance in this place; and for this end he had moved the master of the ceremonies to know the pleasure of his Royal Highness, and to inform Whitelocke what time might be convenient to wait upon the Prince. The gentleman replied, that Whitelocke's company would be very acceptable to the Prince his master, and he doubted not but an account would be given thereof to Whitelocke to his full contentment.

Whitelocke had sent this day to Grave John Oxenstiern, to know what time he might give him a visit; and the Grave returned a proud answer, that it would not yet be convenient.

May 17, 1654.

The Resident of Holland came to visit Whitelocke near dinner-time, which gave him occasion to invite his stay; and he and Sir G. Fleetwood, Mr. Bloome, Colonel Hambleton, Monsieur Lyllicrone, and two Dutch gentlemen, did Whitelocke the favour to be at his table. Whitelocke gave the Resident the respect of the upper end of the table, as he had formerly done to the French and Spanish Residents; and the Dutch gentleman was well pleased with it, and with the English entertainment.

White-
locke's au-
dience of
the Prince.

Whitelocke, having received so great a respect from the Prince, did again desire the master of the ceremonies to know what time might suit with the Prince's leisure to give Whitelocke leave to wait on him. This afternoon the master came to Whitelocke, and informed him that the Prince had appointed four o'clock this

afternoon to give Whitelocke audience, and the master said that he would come with the Queen's coaches to bring Whitelocke to the castle when it was time ; and accordingly he came between five and six o'clock this evening. Whitelocke and his company went with the master to the castle, and as soon as he was alighted out of his coach, he was received by the Marshal and gentlemen of the Prince, a great number of them, at the foot of the stairs ; some of them were very richly habited. They walked first up the stairs, and those of Whitelocke's train followed them ; the master of the ceremonies was on Whitelocke's left hand. When they came to the guard-chamber, the Prince in person came thither to receive Whitelocke at the door thereof, the same place where the Captain of the Queen's Guard used to meet and receive Whitelocke, who was a little surprised, not expecting such a high favour as to be met by the Prince so far from the room of audience.

The Prince was plain, in his habit of black silk, accompanied by a great number of the senators, officers, and nobility, which caused Whitelocke to know him, and with due respect to salute him, as he did Whitelocke ; and after a few compliments between them, the Prince desired Whitelocke to advance, who excused himself, but the Prince pressed it ; the contest was almost half an hour who should go first, till the master of the ceremonies, by command of the Prince, whispered to Whitelocke to give way to the pleasure of the Prince, who was resolved to give Whitelocke the precedence, thereby to testify the great respect and honour which he had for the Protector, and for Whitelocke his servant. Thereupon Whitelocke said to the Prince, that since he understood it to be the pleasure of his

Royal Highness, he would obey his commands; and so they went on together, the Prince giving Whitelocke the right hand; and there was no occasion (by reason of the largeness of the doors) for one to go before the other.

In the third room from the place where the Prince met Whitelocke was the audience chamber; there were set two rich chairs upon foot-carpets one against the other under a canopy of state; here was also much ceremony between the Prince and Whitelocke, who should take the right-hand chair; but the Prince would have Whitelocke to sit there; and the room was full of senators, officers, noblemen, courtiers, and others of quality.

Whitelocke had advised in what language to speak to the Prince. He held it not fit to speak in English, because he came not to him as ambassador, nor in Latin, there being nothing of treaty between them; but being a matter of ceremony, he was advised and informed that it was the Prince's desire that Whitelocke should speak to him in French, the which he understood very well: and accordingly, being both set, and their hats on, after a little pause Whitelocke put off his hat, and then the Prince did so likewise; then both putting on their hats again, Whitelocke spake to the Prince to this effect:—

“ Monseigneur,

“ Je répute à grand bonheur l'opportunité qui m'est présentée de baiser les mains de votre Altesse Royale, et la saluer de la part de Monseigneur le Protecteur de la République d'Angleterre, d'Écosse, et d'Irlande, avant mon départ de ce royaume; ce que j'eusse fait plus tôt et en autre lieu, sinon que la nécessité d'attendre l'issue de ce qui m'a été donné en charge m'en avait empêché: mais

depuis sa conclusion, j'ai tardé exprès pour ajouter à ma satisfaction celle d'avoir rendu mes devoirs à votre Altesse Royale, et lui témoigner l'amitié et les respects de sa Sérénissime Altesse mon maître."

After Whitelocke had done speaking the Prince staid a little time, and then in French answered him to this purpose :—

" Monseigneur l'Ambassadeur,

" Ce m'aurait été un grand trouble si, après la conclusion de vos affaires en cette cour, vous aviez été dans l'inconvénience d'attendre mon arrivée en cette place; je suis bien aise de me trouver ici devant votre départ de ce pays, qui m'a donné le contentement de vous connaître, et l'occasion de témoigner le grand respect que j'ai à Monseigneur le Protecteur et à la République que vous servez, et je reçois beaucoup de satisfaction qu'une amitié et alliance soit contractée entre ce royaume et votre République, de laquelle j'espère et crois qu'elle sera pour le bien des deux nations, et pour l'intérêt des Protestants.

" Il n'y a personne qui a plus d'estime de Monseigneur le Protecteur que moi, et de votre République; et j'ai tant entendu de votre honorable et prudent maniement des affaires que vous aviez ici, que ce m'a fait désirer de vous connaître et d'avoir l'opportunité de converser avec vous, que vous m'avez présentement alloué, et je vous en remercie, et pour les respects de Monseigneur le Protecteur, qu'il vous a plu me présenter en son nom, et qui me sont fort agréables."

After the speeches were ended, the Prince spake to Whitelocke to go with him into his cabinet, which he did, and staid discoursing with him there above an hour together, all the company staying in the outer room. They soon fell into a freedom of discourse, but at this time chiefly concerning the affairs of England, the peace with the Dutch, and the English fleet

now at sea ; also somewhat in particular to the Protector, his management of affairs, and of their late troubles ; in all which Whitelocke endeavoured to give the Prince satisfaction, without doing injury to any one. The Prince brought Whitelocke back again to the same place where he met him ; and his servants went with him to his coach, and the Master of the Ceremonies brought him to his own house.

After Whitelocke was returned home, Lagerfeldt came to him, and told him that the Prince was very much pleased with the discourse between them, and with Whitelocke's deportment ; and Lagerfeldt said he believed that the Prince would visit Whitelocke tomorrow ; who said he could not expect such an honour, but was glad that anything of his discourse was grateful to his Royal Highness.

Lagerfeldt informed Whitelocke that Grave Eric and Lagerfeldt were to go to Stockholm upon some public occasions by command of the Ricksdag. Whitelocke asked him what the business was ; but Lagerfeldt was not forward to declare it, nor Whitelocke to press it ; but he learned from another that the Ricksdag had deputed two of every State to go to Stockholm to extract out of the public records and acts the special privileges granted to the people at the coronation of any king, and of the present Queen, which they judged fit to be now considered and ratified before the coronation of their new King. They were also to bring hither the acts of the Ricksdag when the Prince was declared heir of the crown, and such other things as pertained to this business. Whitelocke desired Lagerfeldt to do somewhat for him at Stockholm touching the sending away of his copper from thence for England.

May 18, 1654.

The ladies who were at Whitelocke's house to see the entry of the Prince, sent thanks to Whitelocke for his noble treatment of them, which was done by Woolfeldt and the master of the ceremonies, whom Whitelocke desired to make his excuse to the ladies, and to intercede with them to pardon the affront which Whitelocke had put upon them by entertaining such noble ladies with so mean a collation. The master said he durst not deliver any such message to them, who were so well pleased with Whitelocke's treatment of them; which appeared the more, in that the Lady Woolfeldt sent to him to bestow upon her, being great with child, some of his English cheese. Whitelocke sent her all he had left, and to other ladies what they desired, his English sweetmeats and other cakes, which with them were of great esteem.

Whitelocke having this forenoon visited several Senators and great Lords, and being returned home, a servant of the Prince, a Baron of great esteem, came to him from the Prince, to know if Whitelocke's leisure would permit to receive a visit from his Royal Highness in the afternoon. Whereunto Whitelocke answered, that if the Prince had any service to command him, he would wait upon his Royal Highness at his Court; the Baron replied, that the Prince intended a visit to Whitelocke at Whitelocke's house, who said he could not expect nor admit of such a condescension in the Prince and high favour to him, but that he would wait upon the Prince in the afternoon. The Baron said that must not be, but that it was the resolution of the Prince to testify that extraordinary respect

The Ladies' message to Whitelocke.

The Prince visits Whitelocke.

to the Protector and to Whitelocke, as to come in person to visit Whitelocke at his own house; who said, that if it were the pleasure of the Prince to have it so, he should attend the receiving of that great honour at such a time as his Royal Highness should think fit to afford it to him.

Woolfeldt, and Douglas, and several others, being with Whitelocke at dinner, they discoursed of this extraordinary high respect of the Prince to the Protector and to Whitelocke, and said that it was partly occasioned by the exceptions taken by the public Ministers in this Court at the reception which the Prince gave unto Whitelocke yesterday beyond what he used to afford them of respect and honour; and this coming to the Prince's ear, he said that if they were offended with him for that, he would yet give them further cause of being displeased, and thereupon sent to Whitelocke that he would this afternoon visit him; they also informed Whitelocke, as Lagerfeldt had done, that the Prince was much satisfied with the discourse of Whitelocke, and his demeanour.

About three o'clock in the afternoon the Prince came to Whitelocke's house, attended with a very great train. He was in one of the Queen's coaches, which was followed by several of his own coaches, all with six horses apiece, and sundry gentlemen on horseback, with the principal officers of the Court and of the army, besides his own gentlemen, officers, servants, pages, and lacqueys to a great number, waiting on him. It fell out to be on the day of a fair, kept in the open place before Whitelocke's house, so that, with the people coming to the fair, and the Prince's train, the streets were exceedingly crowded.

As the Prince alighted out of his coach, Whitelocke was there to receive him, all the gentlemen of Whitelocke's train attending on him, and his servants in livery making a lane, about twenty on each hand, from the Prince's coach to Whitelocke's house, through which the Prince and he passed, Whitelocke giving the Prince the right hand, which he scrupled not to take in that place. They went together covered into Whitelocke's house, sat down in his bedchamber, and fell into much freedom of discourse for above two hours together. In the meantime the lords and gentlemen of the Prince's train being in several other rooms, according to their respective qualities, Whitelocke had taken order to be entertained by his officers and servants, not only with discourse, but with good wine brought from England, and such collation as was then to be had and was pleasing to them.

The Prince and Whitelocke had variety of discourses; and Whitelocke looking upon this as an opportunity whereby he might speak in such things as might tend to the honour of God, and which his own subjects perhaps would not so plainly make known to him, Whitelocke used the more freedom, and part of their discourse was—

Prince. I am very glad that your affairs have permitted you a stay in this place so long as to give me the opportunity of your company, wherein I take much contentment.

Whitelocke. Your Royal Highness doth very much honour me in esteeming my company worth your notice, and herein you are pleased to testify great respect to the Protector, my master, and to the Commonwealth whom I serve.

Pr. I have a very true honour for the Protector, and for England, where I have been, and account it one of the best countries in the world.

Wh. It is indeed, Sir, a very good country, and honoured by your knowledge of it and having been upon it.

Pr. But I doubt that by your late troubles it may be much damaged.

Wh. Truly, Sir, God hath so ordered it that those desolations which usually attend on war, especially a civil war, have not been so much in our country as others have felt who have been plunged in those miseries.

Pr. It is a great blessing to you, especially considering your change hath been so great and your troubles so lasting.

Wh. Our troubles endured a long time, but, blessed be God, at present we enjoy peace and settlement after our changes. The discourse here is now altogether of the voluntary change like to be in your Highness's country.

Pr. Her Majesty is pleased to take a resolution to resign her government, and I am commanded hither upon that occasion, though altogether unsought for by me.

Wh. You are, Sir, every way worthy of it, and the more for not seeking it; and being the will of God is to bring you to such an increase of power as to the royal dignity, it will turn most to your own and your people's good, to employ your power to the honour of Him that gives it, and to prefer His service by whom kings reign before any other concernments.

Pr. I must acknowledge that throughout the whole

course of my life God hath been very good to me, and I am the more engaged to honour Him and to do Him service in any station wherein he shall be pleased to set me.

Wh. Your Royal Highness will be pleased to pardon my freedom of speaking to you what I understand may be most for the honour of God and your service.

Pr. Such discourse is most pleasing to me, especially from a person of such piety and honour as I esteem you to be, and who can have no private ends thereby.

Wh. We have observed in England, and it is so everywhere, that the blessing of God follows those that serve Him.

Pr. That is a true rule ; but our service must be in heart, and not in profession or outward show only.

Wh. It is true that the enemies of the Parliament use to reproach them with hypocrisy in their profession of religion and with their preaching to their soldiers ; yet that our profession is real doth appear somewhat in this, that the blessing of God hath accompanied our profession and our practice ; and when our enemies are in debauchery and injuring the people, our officers and soldiers meet together, exhorting one another out of the Scripture and praying together, and God hath given His blessing thereupon.

Pr. I do very well approve that course, and your profession and practice in matters of religion ; but we hear of too much difference of opinion among you in those matters.

Wh. We have indeed too much difference of opinion among us in matters of religion ; but yet the public peace is not broken, but carefully preserved.

Pr. But if there be not a uniformity among you in those matters, your peace will be endangered.

Wh. We do not yet find that danger; and we look upon it as a liberty due to all Christians to take what way of worship they think best for the good of their own souls.

Pr. Suppose the way they take be not agreeable to the Word of God?

Wh. The consequence thereof will be their own misery.

Pr. But should not the magistrate lead them and constrain them in the right way?

Wh. We hold the better way to be, by meek exhortations and instructions to endeavour to reclaim them from any error, and not by force to compel men's consciences, as is used in these parts.

Pr. What if mild means will not work upon them?

Wh. They will have the worst of it; but as long as they do not break the public peace, it is hard for the magistrate imperiously to command and force his brethren to worship God after his opinion; and it is not imaginable that he should take more care of men's souls than they themselves, whose consciences ought to be free.

Pr. We are somewhat strict in this point in our country.

Wh. But I have heard that your Royal Highness hath shown moderation, and indulged this liberty, in other countries where you commanded.

Pr. I did not think fit to be so severe in this point in Germany as we are in Sweden.

Wh. I think your Highness did therein according to the mind of God, who will not have a restraint upon

His children in the worship of Him ; and I hope you will in time take off the severity of your laws here in this particular.

Pr. I am no friend to severity of laws upon men's consciences ; but reformation among us is not soon to be brought about, where there hath been a long usage of the contrary.

Wh. In England we have of late obtained great reformation in many things, particularly touching the observation of the Lord's Day ; and pardon me, Sir, if I wish the like reformation in this kingdom, and that the Lord's Day were not so much neglected, nay profaned, as I have seen in this place. I hope and humbly advise your Royal Highness that, when God shall place you in the sovereignty over this people, you will take care to provide a remedy and reformation herein, and also of that sin of excessive drinking and swearing with which the people are so much infected, and which may cause a fear lest the anger of God should go forth against this nation ; but it will be very much in your power to apply a fit remedy to these evils, and doubtless God will require it at your hands, as his vicegerent.

Pr. I have not heard many soldiers discourse in this strain ; but I like it well, and it becomes you ; and I hope God will assist me, if He shall call me to the government of this people, to acquit my duty to Him and to His people for the restraining of these sins, which I acknowledge are too common among us.

Wh. In doing so, you will render service to God, and find His blessing to accompany such most pious, most honourable, and truly royal endeavours ; and I hope your Highness will not think amiss of this liberty

which your servant hath taken, to speak to you of these things.

Pr. I am so far from thinking amiss of it or taking in ill part what you have said to me, that I do most heartily thank you for it, and do promise that I shall be mindful to put in practice the good counsel you have given me, as soon as it shall please God to give me an opportunity for it, and that the temper of this people will bear it; being convinced of the duty which lies upon me herein, and the service and honour which will thereby be done to God and to the people of this kingdom, both in respect to their temporal and eternal estate.

Wh. I am very glad to find your Royal Highness so sensible hereof, and shall humbly and earnestly leave it to your thoughts.

Pr. I hope I shall not forget it.*

They had other discourse touching the princes and states of Christendom, particularly of the House of Austria, and of the design of the Papists against the Protestants, the which, and the increase of the interest of Rome, Whitelocke said could not be better prevented than by a conjunction of the Protestants;

* [Whitelocke, in his zeal to exhort the Heir-apparent to the service of God and the observance of the Lord's Day, appears to have appreciated very imperfectly the extraordinary character and the political capacity of the Prince who paid him so signal a mark of deference. Yet in the romantic and chivalrous annals of the House of Vasa, scarcely any reign is more remarkable than that of the sovereign to whom Christina ceded the throne. In the course of the ensuing five years Charles Gustavus, at the head of a chosen band of Swedish veterans, conquered Prussia, and compelled the Great Elector to acknowledge himself to be a Swedish vassal; invaded Poland, and commenced the partition of that republic; allied himself to Rakoczy, to the terror of the House of Austria, and attacked Denmark with such success that he crossed the Little Belt on

to which the Prince fully agreed. The Prince took his leave of Whitelocke with very great respect and civility.

After the Prince was gone, there came to Whitelocke Grave Eric Oxenstiern and Lagerfeldt, to take their leaves of Whitelocke, they being to go to Stockholm by command of the Ricksdag; and Grave Eric gave unto Whitelocke a paper, in French, of damage sustained by a Swedish ship taken and brought into London, which he recommended to Whitelocke to be a means that satisfaction might be procured.

Whitelocke being informed that now at the Court, ^{Whitelocke goes to a running at the ring.} among other solemnities and entertainments to welcome the Prince, the gallants used the exercise and recreation of running at the ring, a pleasure noble and useful as to military affairs, improving horsemanship, and teaching the guidance of the lance, a weapon still used by horsemen in these parts of the world; this generous exercise having been in use in England in Whitelocke's memory, who had seen the lords, in presence of the King and Queen and a multitude of spectators, in the tilt-yards at Whitehall and at St. James's House, where the King, when he was Prince; used also that recreation: it made Whitelocke the more desirous to see the same again, and whether, as

the ice and laid siege to Copenhagen, which was only saved by the mediation of the Maritime Powers. Such was the splendid career of Charles Gustavus between the period of his accession to the throne and the year 1680, when he died, not having completed his thirty-eighth year. More than any of his predecessors or of his successors on the Swedish throne, he may be said to have held the Empire of the North; and the favour here shown to Whitelocke indicates the importance attached by the Swedish Prince to secure at least the goodwill of Cromwell during the prosecution of these Extraordinary enterprises.]

they used it here, it were the same with that he had seen in England. He went *incognito* in the coach of General Douglas, without any of his train, to the place where the running at the ring was. He would not go into the room where the Queen and Prince and great lords were, but sat below in a room where the judges of the course were, with divers other gentlemen, who, though they knew Whitelocke very well, yet seeing him cast his cloak over his shoulder, as desiring not to be known, they would take no notice of him—a civility in these and other countries usual.

The Senator Vanderlin, Grave Tott, and the Baron Steinberg were the challengers to all the rest; and of the other part were Marshal Wrangel, Grave Jacob de la Gardie, and nine or ten others. All were well mounted; Wrangel upon an English horse, given him by Whitelocke. Their clothes, scarfs, feathers, and all accoutrements, both of men and horse, were very gallant. They ran for a prize which the Queen had ordained, and they comported themselves with much activeness and bravery; and it was the same exercise which Whitelocke had formerly seen in his own country.

May 19, 1654.

The Sound
Dues.

Woolfeldt visited Whitelocke in the morning, and brought with him a paper concerning the Sound, written in French with his own hand, wherein he showed much affection to the Protector and to England, and as much distaste to his own country. The paper Whitelocke laid up, and transcribed in a larger treatise.

Woolfeldt acquainted Whitelocke that the public

ministers in this Court discoursed much of the extraordinary respect showed by the Prince to the English Ambassador, both in his reception and the Prince's visit to him. And particularly the Danish Ambassador was greatly discontented, and said that never any ambassador had that honour done him before, and it was so far beyond what he had received that he knew not how to bear it; that the entertainment of public ministers of the same character ought to be with the same ceremony, and not one to be preferred so much as the English Ambassador had been before others of equal quality with him, and much matter of complaint of that nature; which being reported to the Prince, he said that neither the Danish Ambassador nor any other public minister had cause to complain that he had not given them the respect due to their several qualities; and if he, out of a particular affection to the English Protector and Ambassador, had a mind to express more than ordinary particular respects to them, it was no wrong or cause of complaint to any other public minister, who had what was due to him, because another had perhaps more than was due to him; and he said he understood not why his condition should render him less capable than other gentlemen to show particular respects where they did bear a particular affection.

General Douglas, a Scottish gentleman in great favour and honour in this country, came late this year to the Court, being hindered by a violent ague upon his coming hither. He made frequent visits to Whitelocke, and expressed much of respect and civility to him as his countryman.

This day Whitelocke was to dine with Douglas by

Whitelocke
dines with
General
Douglas.

a solemn invitation ; and during the whole time of his residence in this Court he never was invited to any of their tables, but now to Douglas, and before to Grave Eric, notwithstanding the freedom of his table to most of them. With Whitelocke were invited his two sons, Potley, Beake, and Croke. There they met Grave John Oxenstiern, Wrangel, Wittenberg, Bundt, Horne, Vanderlin, Colonel Bannier, and one of the Prince's servants. Of these that thus met, nine had been in commission as generals, two of the English and of the Swedes seven, which was noted as very observable. They sat at table in the same manner as they did at Grave Eric's entertainment, Whitelocke in the midst of the table, the company in their ranks on either side, and all the dinner they sat bare.

The entertainment was very high and noble, as could be had in this place, and four courses very full, which made a long dinner, in which time Whitelocke was solicited often to begin and pledge healths, which he would not do, but left others to their liberty, as he desired his. The healths they drank among themselves were in large beer-glasses of sack, which made them discourse the more freely ; and most of it was of England and the late troubles there, of particular passages of the war, of Scotland, of the fleet now at sea, and the Dutch treaty ; in all which Whitelocke gave them some satisfaction, as they did to him touching the Queen's resignation, the present Ricksdag, and the new King's coronation.

Whitelocke
receives a
jewel from
the Prince.

The same gentleman who had been before from the Prince with Whitelocke, a Baron of great account, first gentleman of the Prince's bedchamber, a proper, well accomplished person, came to Whitelocke by command

of the Prince, with remembrance of his Highness's hearty respects and affection to Whitelocke. After some compliments passed, the Baron took out of his pocket a little box of crimson velvet, and told Whitelocke that his Royal Highness had commanded him to present to Whitelocke that token of the Prince's love and respects to him, and, opening the box, showed to Whitelocke a noble jewel, a case of gold enamelled, the one side of it set thick all over with diamonds, some of them fair ones, and on the other side was the Prince's picture, lively and well taken.

The Baron said to Whitelocke that the Prince desired his excuse because in so short a time he could not procure a better present, but he desired Whitelocke to accept of this as a testimony of his affection to him. Whitelocke answered, that he had not merited so much favour from his Royal Highness, but desired the Baron to return his hearty thanks to the Prince, which he would also do himself when he had the honour to come in his presence.

Upon this occasion Whitelocke took account of the presents which he had in this Court, besides the several and many gratuities and rewards which he had formerly bestowed on many of the Queen's inferior servants, as musicians, guards, pages, lacqueys, trumpets, coachmen, wardrobe men, and others; to whom he had been liberal, to a considerable sum, necessary in his judgement to be done for the honour of his nation, and agreeable to what had been constantly by ambassadors there before him.

Account of
presents
made by
Whitelocke.

Besides these smaller matters, first he sent to the Queen eight black English horses, very handsome, large, brave, and useful horses for the coach, and now

in good case ; four saddle-horses he had formerly presented to her, all of them were in this place worth to be sold £1000. The looking-glass which he gave the Queen when she was his Valentine was worth £100, besides an English Bible richly bound, English stuffs, a cabinet of spirits, and other smaller presents. The Queen's officers gave no reward to Whitelocke's gentleman of his horse, the clerk of his stable, or to his coachman and people that carried them, though it was presumed that the Queen had ordered it, as she had done upon other the like occasions.

To the Prince Whitelocke presented seven bay English horses, very handsome and serviceable for the coach ; for which the Prince returned many thanks, being most acceptable to him, as he expressed, and sent a chain of gold of the value of two hundred ducats to Captain Crispe, yeoman of Whitelocke's stables, and twenty-five ducats to the servants of Whitelocke's stable. To the Prince, Whitelocke also presented a young English gelding of Fenwicke's breed, very handsome and mettlesome ; the more esteemed by Whitelocke, and afterwards by the Prince, when he heard that it had been given to Whitelocke by his General.

To the old Chancellor Whitelocke presented a hogs-head of good Canary wine, and a sober, handsome, strong, well-paced English pad nag, and one of his richest saddles. To Wrangel he gave an English gelding ; to Tott another ; to Wittenberg another ; to Steinberg another ; to Douglas another ; and to such of the great men as the Queen directed. To Lagerfeldt he gave a clock, excellently made, which he used to have constantly with him.

To Secretary Canterstein he sent his secretary Earle with a silver standish, curiously wrought; at sight of which Canterstein seemed much discontented, till Earle showed him the manner of opening the standish, and in it forty pieces of English gold, of jacobuses, which made the present very acceptable. In like manner Whitelocke sent to the master of the ceremonies an English beaver hat, with a gold hatband, and a pair of rich English gloves; at which the Master seemed offended, saying that ambassadors used to send better presents to the master of ceremonies; but being desired to try if the gloves would fit him, he found therein forty twenty-shilling pieces of English gold, and thereby much satisfaction in the present.

To Grave Eric's lady Whitelocke presented a clock of the new make, to hang by the wall, set in ebony, with rich studs of silver. To "la Belle Comtesse," the Lady Jane Ruthven and other ladies, he presented English gloves, ribbons, silk stockings, and the like, which are of great account with them.

All the presents given away by Whitelocke in this court were estimated above £3000, and the jewels and copper bestowed on him were near the same value; so that none could accuse him to be a receiver of rewards, or that he had enriched himself by this employment.

Whitelocke had desired this day another audience of the Prince to take his leave; and towards the evening the master of the ceremonies came with two of the Queen's coaches and brought Whitelocke to the Prince's lodging, who received him with the like or greater respect than he had done before. They went directly together to the Prince's cabinet, where two

Whitelocke
takes leave
of the
Prince and
exhorts
him.

chairs were set. They discoursed about half an hour upon the same subjects as their last discourse was ; and now also Whitelocke earnestly advised the Prince to those things which would tend to the honour of God and to the reformation of disorders, drunkenness, swearing, and profanation of the Lord's Day, which Whitelocke told him God would require at his hands to see reformed when he should be called to the government of this kingdom, with much to the like effect ; esteeming it seasonable for him to take this opportunity of pressing these things to the Prince, as he also did liberty of conscience, and what he hoped was for promoting the interest of Christ in these countries. The Prince gave good ear to these things, and seemed sensible of what was said to him ; and by his answers gave hopes that when he should come to the opportunity he would endeavour the reformation of those great reigning sins in his country, whereof he professed his own detestation.

Whitelocke going to take his leave, the Prince desired him to stay longer, as pleased with the discourse on this subject ; but Whitelocke was desired by the master of the ceremonies not to continue longer with the Prince, because the Queen staid within purposely for Whitelocke's coming to her. At his parting the Prince desired Whitelocke to testify his respects to the Protector and Commonwealth of England ; and told Whitelocke that he might assure himself of a most entire affection to his person from the Prince, who wished him a happy return to his own country.

Visits the
Queen, to
take leave ;

From the Prince Whitelocke made a visit to the Queen. Grave Tott conducted him to her bedchamber, where they discoursed about half an hour touch-

ing her Majesty's affairs. She again mentioned her purpose of going to the Spa, and to go thither by land; she desired Whitelocke not to speak much of it; she said that perhaps she might yet see him at Stockholm, but, if she did not, that she would write a letter to the Protector, and send it thither to Whitelocke, upon the subject of which they had formerly spoken.

Whitelocke advised her, as he had done before, and promised to take care of her letter to the Protector, and to improve his interest the best he could for effecting what her Majesty desired, in case there should be occasion for it. She thanked Whitelocke for his advice, wherewith she seemed to be pleased, and resolved to observe it; and expressed very great respect and affection to the Protector and to Whitelocke, whom she desired to assure the Protector in her Majesty's name of the sincere affection and honour which she did bear him, and which she should continue, in whatsoever condition she should be. She wished Whitelocke a happy voyage, and with many compliments, full of great respect and civility, but not so cheerful as formerly; she twice gave him her hand to kiss, and so took leave of him.

From the Court Whitelocke went and visited the Chancellor; and delivered to him (what he had before promised and was put in mind to do) an engagement under his hand to procure a supply of the defect of power, which they excepted to in his commission. The engagement was thus:—

“ Polliceor plenam me mihi potentiam ac facultatem procuraturum à sua Serenissima Celsitudine Domino meo, Domino Protectore Reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ,

and the
Chancellor.

intra trimestre spatium, ab impulsu meo in quemlibet portum Angliæ, ad supplendum qualemcunque defectum facultatis ac potentiæ mihi antehac datæ, ad tractandum cum Serenissima Majestate sua Regina Sueciæ aut commissariis suis, et ad rata habenda omnia, quæ inter Majestatem suam vel suos commissarios et me conclusa fuerint. Datum Upsaliæ 18^o Maii, anno Domini 1654.

“BULSTRODE WHITELOCKE.”

The Chancellor and Whitelocke fell into discourse touching their Ricksdag; part whereof follows.

The Swedish Diet and Constitution.

Whitelocke. I received much satisfaction in the favour of being admitted to see the manner of the meeting and proceedings of your Ricksdag, and shall be glad to be instructed by you touching some of the passages of it.

Chancellor. I shall be ready to inform you the best I can in these matters, and I have had some experience in them.

Wh. In that and all other matters touching the government of this kingdom, I believe no man's experience or judgement will be opposed to yours. I pray, Father, let me know the ground of proposals being made by the Queen to the Ricksdag, and whether it be as I have heard, that they consult of nothing but what is first proposed to them by the Queen.

Chan. That is very true, and is the ground of our quiet and of avoiding factions among us; for where a Council consists of seven or eight hundred men, as our Ricksdag doth, and they hold themselves to have an equal liberty and power, and are most of them active spirits; if every one amongst them might move and propound what he pleased according to his own fancy, there would never be an end of proposals and debates,

and they would break out into several factions and the greater affairs of the kingdom be retarded, and many times thrust out to make way for lesser matters for the most part but of private interest. Therefore the wisdom of our Government hath so ordered it that nothing is to be consulted upon or debated by the Ricksdag, but what is first proposed to them in writing by the King, who hath the advice of the Senators therein ; and such matters as are by them judged necessary for the good of the kingdom are by the King proposed to the Ricksdag for their counsel in them.

Wh. This may be a good way to preserve your quiet ; but may it not be ill for the rights and liberty of the people ? As to instance in particular, if it be requisite that a new law be made relating to the people's liberty, wherein the former laws may be defective, by this course it rests only in the power of the King and Senate whether this matter shall ever come to consideration or not ; for, unless they will propound it, no consideration can be had of it ; and though it may be necessary as to the people's rights, yet then probably it may be against the King's power, and in that case the King will never propose it to the Ricksdag, because it makes against his power and prerogative ; and so the people are by this course debarred of the means of supplying any defect as to their rights and liberties, unless the King, to lessen his own power, will first propose it to them.

Chan. This were an inconvenience if the people's rights and liberties were not already settled ; but, by our laws, the boundaries of the King's power and of the people's rights are sufficiently known and established, as the King can make no law nor alter or re-

peal any, nor impose any tax, nor compel men to go out of the kingdom without the assent of the Ricksdag ; and in that Council, which is supreme in this kingdom, every man's vote and assent is included by the deputies of the Clergy, Boroughs, and Boors, which are respectively elected, and by the chiefs of the Nobility ; so that all sorts of people have their share, either in person or by their deputies, in the Supreme Council of the kingdom, by whom only those great matters can be done ; and this being certain and settled, any alteration in those points tends but to further uncertainty and mischief. And if debates might be had of additions to the King's power, or to the people's liberty, it would but occasion attempts of encroaching of one upon the other, and bring trouble and uncertainty to both ; whereas they being already clearly defined and known, and that there is no means of altering either of them, both the King and people are content with what they have, and endeavour nothing of disquiet unto either.

Wh. But this further debars the people from having any new law at all made, except such only as the King shall think fit, for he only can propose them ; and it is a necessary thing to supply defects in laws and to make new ones, according as times and circumstances varying shall minister occasion.

Chan. There is nothing more prejudicial to any government than multitude of laws, which is prevented by this course of ours ; nor is there any necessity of new laws where both the public rights and private men's property are provided for by the laws in being, which in all nations is from the original of their civil settlement taken care of. And though time and va-

riety of accidents may occasion some defects in old laws, yet it is better they should be borne with than an inundation of new laws to be let in, which causeth uncertainty, ignorance, different expositions, and repugnances in the laws, and are the parents of contention.

Wh. But I suppose your Ricksdag hath liberty to complain of maladministration and corruption in officers and judges, and to punish them and cause redress of grievances; else the people are remediless against those public crimes, without the grace and favour of the Prince to do it of himself, which every Prince in all times will not do.

Chan. The Ricksdag may complain to the King of any offence or misdemeanour committed by any great officer, and of any public grievance to the people; whereupon the King and Senate are very ready (as it behoves them in justice and prudence) to give a remedy, which they are the more induced to do, because otherwise the people's Deputies, who have the power of the purse, may be the more backward to supply the King's occasions with money or men; and this is a good tie upon the Court, to procure justice and redress of grievances.

Wh. Your laws are founded upon great reason and prudence, and in these and most other main parts and particulars of them, ours are the same in England; but a liberty of proposing anything in our Parliament belongs to every member of it.

Chan. That hath been a great occasion of all your troubles.

Wh. I expected to have heard my father, the Ricks-Chancellor, to have made an harangue in the Ricks-

dag, to have acquainted them, as it is with us, with the causes of their meeting.

Chan. I confess it belongs to my place to have done it; but, by reason of an oath I had taken to my king, to endeavour to keep the crown on his daughter's head, and this assembly was called that she might resign it; therefore I desired to be excused from making that proposal.

Wh. Indeed her Majesty spake herself with an excellent grace and spirit, which was a wonder to see it done by a young lady to so great and grave an assembly; and the matter of her speech, as it was interpreted to me, was pertinent and full of weight.

Chan. Indeed she spake very well and materially, and like a prince.

Wh. I am sorry my time calls me away from further enjoyment of my father's excellent conversation.

Chan. I shall be glad if my noble son would afford me more of his company, in which I take so much contentment.

Wh. My journey tomorrow hastens me away, and occasions your less trouble.

Chan. I pray assure the Protector of the respect and high value I have for him, and of my devoted mind to serve him in anything within my power in this kingdom.

Wh. You have been pleased largely to testify this in my transactions, and your noble favours and respects to your son.

Chan. You may be confident of my affection and love to you; and I desire you to be a friend to my countrymen in England, and to take upon you their patronage in all just causes.

Wh. I shall be ready upon all occasions to perform all good offices to your Excellence and to your family, and to all of this nation; and shall satisfy the Protector of your affections for him, and of your kindness to his servant.

Chan. I am now an old man, and whilst I continue alive I shall do all that lies in my power to serve the Protector and the Commonwealth of England, and shall embrace your Excellence with a special bond of friendship, and will leave it in charge to my sons, when I am dead, to do the same.

Wh. I shall also enjoin my children to continue that obligation of friendship which I have contracted with your Excellence and your family.

Chan. I shall but add this further, to pray to God that of His mercy He would vouchsafe to you a prosperous return to your own country, and that you may find there all your family and friends in a comfortable and happy condition.

Thus the Chancellor and Whitelocke took leave of one another with as much kindness and respect as ^{Takes leave of Oxenstiern.} could be expressed.*

Whitelocke being returned to his house, Grave John Oxenstiern came to visit him; and having heard that Whitelocke took it ill that he had put off a visit desired by Whitelocke to this high Grave, yet now he was pleased to descend to excuse it to Whitelocke, because his lodging was strait and inconvenient, not fit to receive a person of Whitelocke's quality, and his lady was at that time very much indisposed in health.

The Senator Benk Schütt came in the evening to visit Whitelocke, and discoursed freely with him touch-

* [Oxenstiern died about three months afterwards.]

ing the Queen's resignation and their new King, and did not testify much of respect to the Chancellor by informing Whitelocke that yesterday, at the castle, there was a great rub, as he called it, given by the Queen to the Chancellor before the Prince and the rest of the Senators; the occasion whereof was about the island of Elsey, which the Queen desired as part of her provision, to which the Chancellor said, that it was worthy the consideration; the Queen replied, "What! is my integrity then questioned?" The Chancellor answered, that he did not question her Majesty's integrity, but spake only for her security and better satisfaction in what she desired. The Queen said, "I understand Swedish well enough, and it was not becoming you to question my integrity at all." Schütt said, that at this passage the rest of the senators were pleased, and that the Prince seemed in this, and all other occasions, to be of the Queen's mind, and to grant her more rather than less of what she desired, which was wisdom in him.

Senator Vanderlin visited Whitelooke, and, among other discourses, acquainted him the passages of the proposal for the Queen to have married the Prince; that for this purpose the Prince was sent for out of Germany, and the Queen seemed inclinable to the match; yet, after the Prince was come, she used him with a strangeness which was occasioned by the whisperings of Grave Magnus de la Gardie to the Queen, that when the Prince was in Germany he was too familiar with some ladies; at which information, he said, the Queen was so enraged that the Prince should go to other women, that she thereupon resolved not to marry him, but was otherwise very courteous and

full of respect to him. Whitelocke did not dispute the authenticness of this relation, but wondered at it from a senator, touching him who was to be a king, and to use so much freedom on such a subject to a stranger.

General Douglas, the Ricks-Admiral, and Senator Bielke, also visited Whitelocke this evening while Vanderlin was with him; they discoursed of the discontent which the Dutch Resident expressed before his going away, because more respect was shown to Whitelocke by the Queen and Prince, and by the Senators and great men here, than they had shown to the Dutch Resident, who said he was a public minister as well as the English Ambassador. Whitelocke said it was true, as the Dutch Resident had remembered, that he was a public minister; and it might be supposed, that being so, he should understand the difference between a Resident and an Ambassador Extraordinary; and also between the Commonwealth of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and that of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The Swedish Lords replied, that if the Dutch Resident did not understand it, nor himself, that yet it was sufficiently known in this place, and that the Resident was but laughed at for his exceptions, as being without cause, and showing his want of experience in matters of this nature.

After the Ricks-Admiral and Bielke were gone, Vanderlin and Douglas staid with Whitelocke and used great freedom of discourse with him, expressing extraordinary respect to the Protector and Commonwealth of England, and very much affection and kindness to Whitelocke, in whom they expressed great

confidence. They staid with him till past twelve o'clock at night, inconvenient in respect of his intended journey the next day ; but their company was very pleasing, and they took leave with great civility and kindness from each to other of them.

May 20, 1654.

Whitelocke
commences
his journey
back to
England.

Whitelocke began his longed-for journey of return to England. He had taken his leave of the Queen, Prince, Senators, and all his friends in Upsal. His business, through the goodness of God, was successfully despatched ; himself and all his people in good health, and exceeding joyful to be on their journey homewards. He left not a penny of debt to any in this country, nor any unrewarded who had done him service ; for his hospitality, wherein no ambassador in this Court ever exceeded him, for his conversation and dealing with all sorts of people, he had gained their love, and left no ill name behind him. The greatest part of his baggage, and most of his inferior servants, were on board a great hoy of the Queen's, to go by water to Stockholm ; he and the rest of his people went by land, in order to which, upon his desire, the Hof-Stallmaster, by the Queen's command, had sent yesterday six coach-horses to be ready in the midway from Upsal to Stockholm, and this morning he sent six other horses with Whitelocke's blue coach to his lodging, to carry him the first half way of this day's journey, driven by the Queen's coachman.

Berkman had provided a sufficient number of saddle-horses, if they might be so called, he having forgot to cause saddles to be brought with them for

Whitelocke's people, so that most of them were forced to make shift with straw and cushions instead of saddles ; and many of the bits and stirrups were such as they had been acquainted with in their journey from Gothenburg hither ; and thus they rode the two first stages.

Whitelocke took coach between seven and eight o'clock in the morning, Sir George Fleetwood, Potley, Ingelo, and Andrews, in his coach with him ; the rest on horseback ; they came about noon to the place where fresh horses staid for them, and did not tarry long there, wanting good entertainment, but, taking fresh horses both for coach and saddle, they proceeded in their journey. The country through which they passed was better than that near the sea, less rocky and more fruitful, not so replenished with seats of the nobility further off, as nearer to Stockholm. By the way they met General Axy Lyllye, a Senator of Sweden, newly returned out of Germany, and another Senator with him ; they alighted out of their coach when Whitelocke came near them, who, seeing that, did alight also. The General had lost one of his legs in the German wars, and now carried one of wood ; he and his companion were very civil in their salutation and discourse with Whitelocke, and after compliments, and inquiry by Whitelocke of the German news, they took leave and parted.

Whitelocke and his company arrived between five and six o'clock in the evening at Stockholm, the journey being seven Swedish leagues, about forty English miles. As he came in the suburbs, he saw a sad sight of many houses lately burnt down, and some pulled down to prevent the further raging of the fire,

which had consumed many scores of houses in that place; and it brought to Whitelocke's remembrance, that one evening at Upsal, in his chamber window, he saw a great fire in a dorf about half a league from the town, which he observed, almost in a moment, to flash from one end of the dorf to the other, consuming all in its way,—and thus it was said to have been in these suburbs. The reason thereof is the combustible matter whereof their houses are built, being of fir timber and boards, which, especially being old, do suddenly take fire, and violently burn, hard to be quenched, few houses escaping, especially in the dorfs, where one is on fire; which causeth more than ordinary care in the inhabitants of all places to prevent that fearful danger.

Berkman conducted Whitelocke to a lodging in the suburbs, over-against the castle, which was used for an inn. This being post-night, Whitelocke made up his despatches for England, which he had prepared at Upsal, where he wrote his letters, but dated them from Stockholm, that his friends in England might thereby perceive that he was in his journey homewards, which he knew would be no small contentment to them.

May 21, 1654.

Stockholm.

Being the Lord's Day, divers Scotch merchants, inhabitants of this city, and some English, came to Whitelocke's lodging to hear the sermon in the morning, and many of them did him the honour to dine with him; he had conference with them, and good advice from them, about his voyage to England and other matters. Lagerfeldt came also to salute White-

locke, and to know what service he had for him, before his going from hence this evening. Whitelocke desired him to speak to the master of the customs, touching the shipping of his copper and other goods, custom free ; and Whitelocke prayed Lagerfeldt also to speak to Vice-Admiral Wrangel, that the ship appointed for his transportation (which was now in the road in view of Whitelocke's lodging) might, with as much speed as could be, fall down to the Dollars ; which he promised to do.

Wrangel sent to invite Whitelocke to go this afternoon to see the ships, but Whitelocke excused it by reason of the day, and sent word that tomorrow, if he pleased, he would wait upon him ; and desired his advice touching his voyage. In the evening Lagerfeldt came again to Whitelocke, to give him an account what he had done by his appointment, and told Whitelocke that he should have all contentment. With Lagerfeldt came Monsieur de Geeres to visit Whitelocke, who gave him thanks for a vessel of claret wine which De Geeres had sent to Whitelocke, who said he hoped he should not stay long enough to drink it out in this place.

At Upsal Whitelocke was carried to see the Queen's garden, which scarce deserved that name, being only a piece of ground of about four or five acres, paled in according to the manner of their paling, and had in it a few hedges which, in the latter end of May, upon the thaw, began to appear a little green ; but for flowers or fruit-trees there were none, except a few ordinary tulips. This put Whitelocke in mind to inquire if the Queen had a better garden here at Stockholm, where her residence usually was. The Swedes

The
Queen's
garden at
Stockholm.

excused the meanness of the garden at Upsal because the Court was seldom there, but here they commended the garden, and offered Whitelocke the favour to see it. He went about seven o'clock this evening to view it, and to walk in the Queen's garden here. It was near unto his lodging, but at a distance from the castle; it is about six or seven acres of ground, encompassed with a pale, on which they bestow timber enough in the posts and rails, and the pales are not set upright one by another, but crosswise one upon another, between two great posts, with rivets for the pales to be put into, and so to fall down one upon the other; and the pales are two inches thick or more, made of fir timber, and the posts and rails of oak.

This garden was distinguished into walks not well kept nor gravelled, but most of them green; few flowers were to be seen there, though more than at Upsal, and most of these were tulips not extraordinary. The sides of the walks were set with elm-trees and the like, but no fruit-trees were there, nor are they common in this cold country, only, as they informed Whitelocke, in some places they have a few trees of plums, and small cherries, and of apples; but he saw none in regard of the season, nor do many persons in these parts delight in gardens or in planting fruits or flowers, this climate not encouraging thereunto; yet here were great boxes of wood with orange-trees, citron-trees, and myrtle-trees, very young, planted in them; how they thrived was not much visible.

At Whitelocke's lodging some of his people made the greater fires to air the rooms, because the plague had been lately in this city, and in that house the chimneys, it seems, being foul, and full of soot, were

the sooner set on fire; and when Whitelocke came from walking in the garden he found his lodging on fire. It was a stack of chimneys which took fire; a multitude of people were ready about the house to help to quench the fire, and the officers of the city were there to order the people. Whitelocke was surprised with this unexpected accident and danger, amongst such houses; but after an hour's flame, the soot being spent and burnt, the fire went out of itself; and it was a mercy that the wind set to carry the flame towards a house which was tiled, whereas, if it had set the other way, it had carried the flame upon houses all built and covered with wood, to the extreme danger of Whitelocke's lodging and the whole city.

May 22, 1654.

In the morning Berkman conducted Whitelocke to the haven, where lay many boats and vessels great and small, and much iron upon the quay, which is convenient, but not much stored. They passed by many fair houses belonging to the great Lords.

The harbour of Stockholm and Swedish fleet.

In the afternoon Wrangel came to Whitelocke, and conducted him to see the Queen's ships, which lie round about an island called by them the Holm, into which island none are permitted to enter without special license. This is a good harbour for the ships there to anchor safely. There lay about fifty ships of war, some of them carrying eighty pieces of cannon, some sixty, some fifty, some forty, some thirty, and all of them well fitted and useful, strongly built, but not so nimble and serviceable for fight as our English frigates. Wrangel was now in his element, and discoursed much

with Whitelocke about the make and force and goodness of these ships, their force and brass cannon, which were commended by Whitelocke, who showed the difference in the make between these ships and the English frigates ; that these, for strength to endure an assault and make defence, were very good, but that the English frigates had much advantage in their nimble tacking about, their fleet sailing to fetch up another ship, and the lying of their guns for use of fighting ; with which discourse Wrangel seemed much pleased, and he preferred their brass cannon before those of iron, which Whitelocke assented unto as not so soon hot with firing, nor so apt to break and splinter, and do harm to their own men as the iron ordnance are.

Within this island is the office of the Admiralty, in a fair brick house built for that purpose ; in another building there are the forges for all the iron-work belonging to the ships ; there also are the timber yards, well stored, and places for the workmen and ship-carpenters. They were shown there likewise the magazine of powder, bullet, match, grenadoes, with other fire instruments ; also the bake-houses, where they make provision of biscuit for the ships ; it is a great room paved with stone, wherein are three ovens for baking, and a large cellar in which they store the biscuit. There be also stores for pork, peas, and other ship provisions, all in very good order, and carefully looked unto.

Whitelocke went on board divers of the ships, taking notice of their strength and furniture, and among them he went on board several great ships which Wrangel had taken in fight from the King of Denmark, which at present were not serviceable ; but his

commendation of that action, and of these ships of war lying here, was due to them, and not displeasing to those who showed them to him. They returned by boat, making the tour of the island; and as they passed by the ships of war, they all saluted Whitelocke with two guns apiece, which number they do not exceed. As they passed along, Whitelocke was desired to go on board the 'Hercules,' a great and good ship lying there, which carried eighty pieces of ordnance, all brass; and being brought into the captain's cabin, he found there the table covered, and a banquet set upon it of sweetmeats of divers sorts, with which, and with plenty of excellent Rhenish wine, they did with great respect and civility entertain Whitelocke and his company. From thence they brought him to his lodging, weary enough with his voyage and the extreme heat of the weather.

The island which Whitelocke viewed this day, and many other greater and smaller islands, upon which are buildings, do make up this city, which by some is resembled for the situation of it unto the city of Venice, which stands as this doth, upon several islands in the sea. The waters are great and deep about this city, which is compassed with mountains, except only where they give way to the passage of the waters. The town, in the prospect of it, seems to be as in the midst of the circuit of the mountains, and as it were composed of divers pieces, each of them apart making a good town, and so appear as several villages separated by the many arms of water, or by the Lake Mälaren, which come hither to meet one another, and make the large and deep water; and it seems to be the diameter of the mountains, and now all plain, by carrying away

Position of
Stockholm.

the earth of a hill within it, and the stones therewith filling up ditches and uneven grounds, and serving for foundations for their buildings, and to make their streets even and handsome ; so that now it is all level, as if no hill had ever been. One of their authors saith that it is "*loco et situ commodissimo, inter eximium dulcem lacum Mæler ipsumque Balticum mare in insula fundatum.*"

The inhabitants (who should best know it) affirm that the situation of this town is very healthful, and that notwithstanding the vast quantity of waters that do surround it, yet they are not troubled with agues, or other diseases, so much as other parts of the country. It is too, in the view of it, pleasant and noble for the situation ; and the grounds about it are dry and wholesome, yet fruitful. The streets are some of them large, others more narrow ; most of them are straight, the houses being equally advanced and set together. In the heart of the city they are for the most part built of stone or brick, making the fairer show by their height of four or five stories. From the North Holm or suburbs to the east is a bridge of wood, very long ; from the island where the ships lie they pass another bridge to another island, both small ones, and at the mouth of the harbour for the ships of war, extending about half a league, between which and the continent are the waters of the lake and of the rivers which pass through the town from the west ; from the north to the east is a park of deer, pleasant with trees and shade, contributing to the delight and health of the inhabitants ; and, taken altogether, from the prospect of the mountains upon the churches, castle, houses, waters, and ships, the town appears noble and beautiful.

Whitelocke having been at the island where the ships lie, and observed it to be called the Holm, and other islands to have the same name of Holm, and Holm to be the same which we call an island, and this city named Stockholm, caused his inquiry of the original of this name of Stockholm; he was informed, in a kind of pleasant story, which is not without some probability, and the earnest affirmations of the inhabitants, who from tradition may be supposed best to know it, that the original of the name Stockholm was thus:—That there was a certain great and rich town called Bieurkoo, situate upon the lake between Upsal and this place, whereof some ruins are yet to be seen. The number of the people in that town increasing so much that the inhabitants could not be therein contained, they held a council what was fit to be done; they also consulted their idol gods, to whom they offered sacrifices and prayers for their direction. The issue was this: they came to a resolution that part of their people should go forth from them, as a colony, to seek for a new habitation, as is usual in these northern countries; that they should find out a place, and build them a new city to dwell in; and how to find out and agree upon this place was thus determined: they took a great block or piece of wood, to which they fastened some gold, and set the block a-swimming in the water, and agreed that there they would build the new town where their gods (to whom they had committed this affair) should cause the block to stay; this block floated, and, descending down the lake, at length staid at a little island about the midst of this city.

Legend of
Stockholm.

Such an island here (as in our north parts) is called

Holm, and such a great block or piece of wood is by them (as with us) called a stock ; and because this stock staid at this Holm, therefore here they built their city, and called it Stockholm ; which, by degrees, and adding one holm or island to another, became of its present greatness.

May 23, 1654.

The Magistrates of Stockholm address Whitelocke.

Berkman brought to Whitelocke's lodging this morning two of the magistrates of this city, deputed by their body, and in their name, to salute Whitelocke and bid him welcome to this place. One of them made a speech to Whitelocke, which was interpreted out of the Swedish by Berkman into French, to this effect:—

“ My Lord Ambassador,

“ The Senate of this city have deputed us in their name to salute your Excellence, and to bid you welcome to this place, where the magistrates and citizens are desirous to embrace any occasion presented to them, whereby they may testify the great respect and honour which they bear to his most Serene Highness the Lord Protector, and to the Commonwealth of England.

“ They are likewise very glad of the occasion given them to express their joy for the happy alliance and friendship concluded between this kingdom and the Commonwealth of England, which we hope will be to the advantage and good of both nations, and of the Protestant interest, which is heartily wished by us. We look upon it as a very great comfort and blessing to this city, that after the misery in which we have lately been, when it pleased God to visit us with the pestilence, that the same is now so well and fully removed through Divine mercy, that we have the happiness to see a person of your condition vouchsafe his presence with us.

“ Whilst the occasions of your Excellence shall stay you

here, we most freely offer our services for your accommodation with whatsoever this place will afford, which your Excellence may command; and as a small testimony of the respects of our superiors, they have caused us to present a vessel of wine unto your Excellence, whereof they entreat your favourable acceptance."

Whitelocke presently answered them in English, which Berkman interpreted to them in Swedish, to this effect:—

"Gentlemen,

"I rejoice with you in the mercy and goodness of God to this city, who hath caused to cease that contagious disease which lately raged among you, so that your friends (of which number I take the honour to reckon myself) may freely and safely resort to you, and converse with you as formerly. I have also some share in your joy for the friendship and alliance contracted between my Lord the Protector of the Commonwealth of England, and the Queen and kingdom of Sweden; wherein I doubt not but, through the blessing of God, both nations and the whole Protestant interest will have cause to rejoice likewise: and as my poor endeavours have not been wanting, so my hearty prayers to God shall be put up that it may come to this issue; and I shall pray for the continuance of health and prosperity to this noble city.

"I return you many thanks for your respects to my Lord the Protector and the Commonwealth whom I serve, whereof I shall not fail (when it shall please God to give me a return to my own country) to acquaint them, and to do all offices of respect in my power for your city; and I desire my thanks may be presented to your honourable Senate for their particular favour to me, and for their salutation, which I receive with all gratitude."

Whilst the citizens were with Whitelocke, Wrangel, Vice-Admiral Thysen, Vice-Admiral Clerke, Sin-

clair, captain of the 'Amarantha,' and others, came and did Whitelocke the honour to dine with him, and in the afternoon carried him to see the cannon which the Swedes had taken from their enemies, now laid up in a magazine for themselves; there were of them brass cannon 1100; among them were two pieces taken from the Muscovites, each of them weighing 18,000 lbs. weight, and carrying a bullet of 96 lbs. weight, as much more as the greatest whole cannon carries. There was also a basilisk of nineteen feet in length, very extraordinary, and a great mortar-piece of brass of a fathom and three fingers in diameter at the mouth of it; with many other pieces of brass ordnance taken from the Poles in their wars with them, which were now but of little use; nor were those huge pieces capable to be drawn into the field for any service there.

May 24, 1654.

Monuments
and public
buildings of
Stockholm.

Whitelocke walked abroad, to see the great church where the late King Gustavus Adolphus lies interred; but as yet there is no monument erected to his memory, nor are there others of magnificence or much antiquity in this or in the other great church, but store of images and crucifixes in all their churches; their building is of brick, and all their churches are covered with copper.

Whitelocke went to Wrangel's lodging to requite his visits, but found him not at home, not having sent beforehand to him. He fetched a little turn in the city, and they showed him a new building for the Ricksdag, which they call the Ruder-house, that is, the house of the Knights; it is a fair building, and

the name of it remembers somewhat of the knights of our Parliament.

In this walk, Whitelocke viewed in the fair street near his lodging the monument set up to the honour of Queen Christina at her coronation, which is beautiful to the view. It is a triumphant arch, of the height of the highest houses, raised upon three arches, which give three passages; those on each side the more strait and low, the middle arch of twice the height and wideness of the other two. The frontispiece unto the tops of the arches is adorned with pillars of a fair work, between which, in the front of the building, are figured the wars, battles, and victories of Gustavus the Great: above the pillars are divers images, and above the middle of the porch is a large tablet, containing in letters of gold the original of Christina, her virtues, and the occasion of this monument. The whole building seems fair and stately, and as of stone, but in truth is only wood plastered over; rather a show, to please for a few years, than lasting. He also viewed many houses of stone and brick, some whereof were very fair and adorned with towers and figures, as those of Grave Magnus de la Gardie, Grave Gustavus Horne, General Bannier, and others, and many of them beautifully covered with copper.

In the afternoon Wrangel conducted Whitelocke to see the castle, which is also covered with copper; and that having lain there long, some Dutchmen are reported to have offered to give £10,000 for the copper, and to cover the castle again with new copper; the reason whereof they hold to be, because the copper which hath lain there so long with the sun upon it, is

so refined thereby, and would yield so much gold, that it will yield what the Dutchmen bid for it and more, besides the charge of new covering it with copper as before.

This castle is the principal house in this principal city, belonging to the crown of Sweden; it is a large castle, more for conveniency of a Court than for stateliness of structure. It is almost four-square, one way longer than the other, all of brick, plastered over to make it seem as if it were of freestone, whereof there is not much in these parts fit for building; the entry into the castle is upon the north quarter; the south and east side is of fair building, four stories high, the windows not large. On the west of the quadrangle is the chapel, about a hundred and thirty feet in length, with the breadth proportionable; it is divided into three arches, upon two ranges of pillars of marble of this country, of divers colours, most in red streaks, handsome and polished. On the windows and walls are several pictures and images, after the manner of the Lutheran churches. The rooms in the castle are many, some of them large enough for the state of a Court, and most of those are two stories high, after the use of this country. The situation of the castle is pleasant and noble, by the side of the great water, upon which part of it is built, and the other part upon the island where it stands; and though of itself it be not of great strength, yet the situation, prospect of the waters, ships, vessels, islands, and buildings, on the one side, and of the country to the mountains on the other side, give it the repute of a princely palace.

In the castle Whitelocke was carried up to a room, a magazine, where were a very great number of muskets,

pikes, swords, and other foot arms, excellent good, made in this country, of their own iron and steel, and kept exceeding clean, bright, and well fixed, and were said to be sufficient to arm ten thousand men completely. On the other side of the court they brought him to another room, where was a magazine of horse-arms, cuirassiers, with pistols, bright, well kept, and of an excellent make; there were also more foot-arms: in all, in this magazine, two thousand horse-arms, and five thousand foot-arms; and in the other magazine, ten thousand foot-arms. There were likewise colours, ensigns, and standards, taken from their enemies, to the number of about eight hundred; among them one taken by King Gustavus in person, and another, which Wrangel showed, that he had taken from the Duke of Saxony.

This city is doubtless as well provided of arms and all sorts of ammunition for war as any place in these parts of Europe, here being, besides the Queen's stores in the public Arsenal, arms sufficient for fifty thousand men.

Here also they showed to Whitelocke the lance of the quintain, and, according to their description of it and its use, it seems to be the same with the exercise and recreation used anciently in England, and yet retained in some counties at their marriages, which they likewise call the running at the quintain. In a great hall they showed to Whitelocke the skin, stuffed out and standing in the full proportion, of the horse which the late King Gustavus rode when he was slain; also his bloody shirt which he then wore, which is carefully preserved in a chest; where they also keep the jewel which King Gustavus wore at his coronation,

and many rich swords, battle-axes, and other spoils taken from their enemies.

May 25, 1654.

The launch
of the
'Falcon.'

Wrangel came to Whitelocke, and invited him to see the launching of one of their ships newly built for a man-of-war; and Whitelocke was the more curious to see the manner of it, and how they could do it, in regard they have no docks, nor ebbing and flowing of the water, which here is constantly even, and affords no advantage by flowing tides for the launching of their ships.

When Whitelocke came to the holm where the ship was to be launched, he found her with the keel set upon great planks of timber, the ship tied upright with cables, as if she were swimming; the planks upon which she stood lay shelving towards the water, and were all thick daubed with grease all along from the poop of the ship, and under her keel, to the water's side, which was within the ship's length of her head, and there the water was very deep. One strong cable held the ship from moving; and she lying thus shelving upon the planks, the cable which held her from sliding down was cut, and then the weight of the ship upon the sloping greased planks carried her with great violence down upon the planks into the sea, near a slight shoot, by force of the weight and swing wherewith she fell down. In the sea were boats ready, which came to her, and put men aboard her; and as she went off, a great shout of a multitude of people, standing by as spectators, was sent after her.

Wrangel, as an honour and compliment to Whitelocke, desired him to give the name to this ship. Whitelocke would have called her the 'Wrangel,' but the master of that name entreated it might not be so, possibly to avoid the envy of it at Court; but he desired it might be called the 'Whitelocke,' which Whitelocke thought not expedient, lest it might argue too much height in himself; nor would he call her 'Cromwell,' or the 'Protector,' because she carried but thirty guns; but seeing the mark of her guns to be the falcon, and asking whether they had any other ship of that name, they said, No; whereupon, the falcon being Whitelocke's coat of arms and the mark of the ship's guns, and she being built swifter of sail than ordinary, Whitelocke gave her the name of the 'Falcon.' This pleased Wrangel very much, and the seamen and workmen were most pleased with the gratuity which Whitelocke bestowed on them; and this ceremony and compliments being passed, Whitelocke gave many thanks to Wrangel for this honour, and so they parted.

The packet from England was brought to Whitelocke. Thurloe wrote thus:—

"I have acquainted his Highness with your Excellence's letters received yesterday, wherein he takes little content, more than that he did on his part sincerely intend a peace and union with that Crown and Kingdom, and committed the management of it to a person who hath performed his trust with honour, wisdom, and fidelity. We hope that your instructions, giving you liberty to return, are by this time arrived, etc."

By this packet Whitelocke also received letters from his wife, full of affection and piety, and from

Colonel Bulstrode, his brother Wilson, Mr. Attorney Hall, Mr. Cokaine, Mr. Eltonhead, especially from his great friend Dr. Winston; and all of these letters, and several others which he received, were so many testimonies of the affection and hearty kindness of these his worthy friends.

May 26, 1654.

After Whitelocke had walked a tour in the Norden Mallum,—that is, the north suburbs of this city,—Sir George Fleetwood came to him, with whom he had much conversation in the latter time of his being in Sweden, both at Upsal and in this town, who showed much kindness and respect to Whitelocke. He informed Whitelocke that by letters from Upsal he understood that the Ricksdag had given leave to the Queen to go to Colmar, which signified that she could not go without their leave, and that she would find much difference between commanding as a Queen and obeying as a subject, and that, by the law of this kingdom, no Queen can depart out of it without leave of the Ricksdag, on forfeiture of all her estate.

White-
locke's
shipment of
copper sent
to London.

A ship called the 'Swart Hundt' was by the Queen's command appointed and fitted to carry Whitelocke's copper and other goods from hence to England. By advice of friends, Whitelocke under his hand and seal desired Sir George Fleetwood to consign the copper to Whitelocke's brother-in-law, Mr. Wilson. The desire was thus:—

"I Bulstrode Whitelocke, Constable of the Castle of Windsor, one of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of England, and Ambassador Extraordinary from his Most Serene Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth

of England, Scotland, and Ireland, unto her Majesty the Queen of Sweden, do hereby desire my honourable friend, Sir George Fleetwood, Knight, General-Major under the Crown of Sweden, to ship and consign unto Mr. Samuel Wilson, merchant in London, in Bishopsgate-street, two hundred ship-pound, Swedish weight, of gore copper; the which the said Mr. Samuel Wilson is to receive and dispose of according to my order. Dated at Stockholm, in Sweden, the 26th day of May, 1654.

“B. WHITELOCKE.”

According to which warrant, the copper was put on board the ‘Swart Hundt,’ fitted and victualled for England. Of Whitelocke’s ship, Whitelocke gave the command and charge, and of his goods therein, to one of his servants, Taylor, by commission under his hand and seal, and to bring his copper and goods in her from hence to London, as soon as he could, wind and weather favouring. Wrangel procured this ship for Whitelocke, and a pass from the Admiralty of Sweden for her to go through the Sound; and Whitelocke thought it better to see this ship on her voyage, than to leave the sending of her away to the care of others after his departure.

Whitelocke sent the rest of his goods and baggage on board the ‘Amarantha,’ which weighed yesterday, and he hoped might by this time be within four leagues of the Dollars; but the wind came contrary for her advance any further, and Whitelocke must continue here till he could understand that his ship was gotten to the Dollars, which is fourteen Swedish leagues from this city, but may be gone in six or seven hours by boats in a shorter passage. His stay here seemed tedious to Whitelocke. This day the wind coming about a little towards the east, increased his

His goods
embarked
in the
Amaran-
tha.

hopes of getting away, for which they were in daily expectation.

The trade
of Stock-
holm.

By some merchants and others of this city, White-locke learned what was the commerce of this town, and by his own view he found it to be commodiously seated for trade and to receive all the commodities of the country's growth, which are brought hither by water; and it is the more convenient because the greatest ships may come up to the very houses and there load and unload their merchandises, never wanting water, which there is always deep, and equal in the height of it. But this city is somewhat far distant from the sea by water, so that before the ships can go between the sea and the town, they must fetch a compass of about one hundred English miles, with the danger of many rocks and islands in the way; and they must have also divers winds which are hindrances to their commerce.

The present Queen hath been curious to invite hither and to entertain many good artists, yet everything here is very dear, except the native commodities; and now Gothenburg, growing up in trade, being situate without the Sound, a more open and easy place for access of strangers,—some believe that by the growth of that, this port may be diminished. It is the better supported by the Court being commonly kept here, and consequently being the residence of the principal nobility and officers. Some courts of justice constantly, and the Ricksdag generally, being held in this city, increase the trade of it; and this being a good road for ships to defend them from injuries of weather or other dangers, makes it the more frequented.

Plenty of provisions are brought to this town for the

supply of it ; and most of their native commodities, as copper, iron, pitch, tar, deal, masts, and the rest, are brought hither and here shipped and transported into foreign parts ; from whence their merchants and strangers do bring to this northern market all manner of merchandise here vendible ; and from hence again they are vended to all the northern and eastern parts of this country, whereby their trade and wealth is also increased, so that one of their authors calls it, “ *Celeberrimum ac nobilissimum Septentrionis emporium.*” The trade of this place hath brought and settled here as inhabitants,—besides Swedes, Goths, Fins, and Laplanders,—divers of Germans, of Pomerland, Mecklenburg, Westphalia, etc. ; also English, Scotch, French, Dutch, and almost of every country of Europe. Some are here now become citizens, and are treated with justice and civility by the natives, to the end that they and others may be the more encouraged to add to the riches, strength, and trade of this place.

May 27, 1654.

Whitelocke visited Sir George Fleetwood at his lodging in Stockholm, and finding with him Vice-Admiral Thysen and Peterson, both Hollanders and in service of the Crown, Whitelocke brought them all home with him to dinner, and advised with them about his voyage. The wind came more contrary to Whitelocke this day than yesterday, but he knew no other way but a patient submission to the will and time of God. Here he bestowed on a German clock sixty-two rix-dollars.

Detained
by contrary
winds.

From some of the magistrates and others of this

**The govern-
ment of
Stockholm.** city Whitelocke learned that the government thereof is by four Councils, and a Senate of the citizens, as their Common Council, consisting of twenty-four chosen yearly in this month by suffrage of the inhabitants, and justice is administered to the people by them in like manner as in other cities. Besides these officers there is a Castellan, or governor of the castle of Stockholm, who, by a peculiar authority over the city, takes care of the walls and buildings thereof, as he doth of the castle and other the King's buildings there. He is to defend the privileges of the town, and is chief in their political administration. He also orders and keeps up the revenue and trade, and suffers not the royalties of the Crown to be diminished, nor any of the public treasure, without the license of the King, to be expended. He is always one of the Ricks-Senators, and hath joined to him a Vice-Castellan, of the equestrian order, who is chief in the judgements of the city within the Senate and Councils, and is intent to the execution of justice.

**The defence
of Stock-
holm.** The strength of this city is chiefly in the situation of it among the waters, which are no small defence, and in the bodies of their inhabitants, who make a considerable number of the soldiery, many of whom have been in foreign service. The Castellan commandeth them, sees their musters, and that they be provided with arms and in a posture of defence; and under the Castellan is a captain, who hath the military charge next under him. The main body of the town hath somewhat of a wall about it, but the suburbs and other islands are encircled with the waters, with bridges for communication.

The castle is of indifferent strength, and notably

provided of arms and ammunition, as is before remembered, which adds to the strength and safety as well as command of the city. They have not a formed garrison in the town; but divers companies of the King's guards, when the Court is there, and sometimes of other regiments of the army, are quartered there, as occasions do require. The castle commands a good part of the town, and may be as a citadel upon any emergent business; and in case of any troubles at sea, the ships of war lie here in readiness forthwith to be manned, are provided with ammunition, provisions, and all things necessary for the defence and safeguard of this port and city from any attempts which may by sea be made against it.

Whitelocke made up his despatches for England, and now dated his second letters from Stockholm, attending for a wind.

May 28, 1654.

The Lord's Day.—Whitelocke, according to his custom, had a good sermon in his lodging preached by one of his chaplains in the morning, and another good sermon preached there in the afternoon by Mr. Biger, a Scotch minister, and chaplain to Sir George Fleetwood, then with him. In this city Whitelocke observed the inhabitants very orderly to frequent their parish churches, and not so much profanation of this day in this place as he had seen at Upsal, and other places in the country.

May 29, 1654.

Whitelocke with longing desires attended the com-

Sir G.
Fleetwood
returns to
the King's
coronation
at Upsal.

ing about of the wind for his voyage; but he must stay God's time, which is always best. He could not persuade Sir George Fleetwood to stay longer with him. He thought it necessary for him to go to Upsal, to be present at the King's coronation; and at his request Whitelocke sent by him to Wrangel this letter:—

"A son Excellence le Feld-Maréchal Wrangel à Upsale.

"Monsieur,

"Je n'ai pu retenir plus longtemps le Général Major Fleetwood avec moi, son désir le portait si fort de se trouver à Upsale, au couronnement, de crainte qu'il ne semblerait négligent, et manquer à son devoir envers son Altesse Royale; mais la raison de ce qu'il a présenté ma requête à votre Excellence est qu'il vous plaise moyenner envers son Altesse Royale, afin qu'il retourne à Stockholm; et que je puisse jouir de sa compagnie jusqu'à mon départ, qui en apparence sera différé plus longtemps que je ne le souhaiterais, à raison de la contrariété des vents.

"Je supplie votre Excellence de me faire la faveur de baiser en mon nom les mains de sa Majesté et de son Altesse Royale, et d'accepter, pour tant de faveurs que votre Excellence m'a faites, tant à Upsale qu'en ce lieu, les actions de grâce de celui qui est,

"Monsieur, à votre Excellence

"Très-humble serviteur,

"Stockholm, May 29, 1654.

B. WHITELOCKE."

Berkman went from hence 17th May at night, and returned this morning hither, and brought to Whitelocke this letter:—

Lagerfeldt's
letter on
the Swedish
prizes.

"Illustrissimo Domino Domino Bulstrode Whitelocke, Extraordinario Reipublicæ Angliæ in Sueciam Legato, officiosissimè.

"Illustrissime et Excellentissime Domine Legate,

"Quanquam valde dubitem, an Excellentiam vestram hæ

litteræ in Sueciam inveniant, nolui tamen, accepta hac occasione, vel meo officio deesse, vel refragari quorundam Suecorum petitioni, nam cum naves duæ Suecicæ, quarum nauticlerum Bonders et Sibrand follis vocantur, nuper ceptæ et in Angliam delatæ sint, sperant fore, ut, per hanc meam intercessionem, cum primis autem per benevolam Excellentissimæ vestræ commendationem, quantocius dimittantur. Nisi igitur mihi satis perspecta esset Excellentissimæ vestræ integritas, pluribus ab ea contenderem, ut dictarum aliarumque detentarum in Anglia Suecicarum navium liberationem, atque per se æquam ac amicitie fœderique mutuo conformem sibi haberet commendatam; sufficit nunc saltem indicasse Excellentissimæ vestræ, quippe cui nihil jucundius esse scio, quam ut amicæ confœderatæque gentes, sancta fidei justitiæque observantia, inter se strictius colligentur. De cætero Excellentissimæ vestræ felicem in patriam reditum exopto, ut me nostrumque Barkmannum officiose commendo. Dabam Upsaliæ, 27 Maii, anno 1654.

“Excellentissimæ vestræ

“Ad quævis officia paratissimus,

“ISRAEL LAGERFELDT.”

In the evening Whitelocke walked abroad to take the air, the time of his stay here being very tedious to him, attending for a good wind, that he might proceed in his longed-for return to his native country and relations; but he submitted to the good pleasure of God, who orders all times and seasons and all things for the best. At night the wind came about a little towards the east, favouring his voyage.

May 30, 1654.

The wind continued this morning, as it was last night, easterly, but not sufficing for Whitelocke to go on his voyage. The Vice-Admiral Clerke coming to ^{Preparations for departure.}

Whitelocke, he advised with him touching his voyage, and asked him if he thought the 'Amarantha' might with this wind be gotten to the Dollars. He answered that there could be no assurance thereof, but that possibly it might be so; whereupon Whitelocke replied, that he had a great desire to go down himself to the Dollars, before the news came of the 'Amarantha's' arrival there, because the wind might come good, and within six hours carry them out to the open sea, which, if neglected, might retard their voyage fifteen days or more. Clerke said that if Whitelocke desired to do so, that he would not advise him to the contrary, but he believed that this might expedite his voyage; only he said that Whitelocke must be content to lie on board the ship till the wind should come fair, because there was no accommodation to be had for him and his company at the Dollars. Whitelocke said he should be well contented to lie on ship-board, and prayed Clerke to cause boats to be provided for his passage to the Dollars the next day, and ordered his officers and servants to prepare all things in readiness for his departure accordingly. Wrangel came back this night from Upsal, and several other persons, though very late, having staid the solemnity of the Queen's resignation and the coronation of the new King, which they related to Whitelocke to be done this day, and in this manner and solemnity.

Relation of
the cere-
mony of
the Queen's
resignation.

About nine o'clock this morning the Queen, being attired in her royal apparel and robes of purple velvet, with her crown upon her head, and attended by all her officers and servants, came into the room prepared for that occasion, where was set a table with a rich carpet, and five great cushions laid upon it. Most of the grandees and officers were present.

Upon one of the cushions was laid the sword of state; upon the second cushion was laid the sceptre; upon the third cushion was laid the ball; and upon the fourth cushion were laid the keys.

The Queen being come into the room, after a little pause made a short speech to the company, to this effect :—

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ You have before this time been acquainted with my resolution to resign the crown and government of this kingdom into the hands of my most dear cousin the Prince, here present with me, upon my earnest request to the Ricksdag, now convened. After long debates and much solicitation to dissuade me from it, yet at length, though unwillingly, they have assented to this my resolution; and I am now come to put the same in execution before all these honourable witnesses here present; and to you, my most dear cousin, I do heartily wish all happiness and good success in the management of the public affairs of this kingdom.”

Having thus spoken, the Queen desired that some of them would take the crown from off her head, but none would do it; she then called to Grave Tott and the Baron Steinberg, expressly commanding them to do it, but they refused, till again earnestly commanded by her; they then took the crown from off her Majesty's head, and laid it down upon the fifth cushion on the table. After that was done, some others, by her command, took off the royal robes with which she was clothed and laid them down upon the table. Then the Queen, having thus divested herself of these ensigns of royalty and resigned her crown, being now in her private habit, made courtesy to the Prince and to the rest of the company, and retired into her own chamber,—an act of a strange constancy and fixedness

of resolution, going through with this great work of her own abdication without the least outward show of reluctancy for what she had done, but with the same behaviour and confidence as at all other times in her particular and private affairs.*

For this act of the Queen's resignation they had no precedent; for the solemnity of the King's coronation they had many; and the same is at large, with all the circumstances and ceremonies thereof, set down by one of their authors, Wexionius (*Epit. Descriptionis Sueciæ*, lib. v. c. 6), from which the ceremonies of this Coronation were not much different, and thus shortly related unto Whitelocke.

Ceremony
of the
King's co-
ronation.

After the Queen was withdrawn to her private chamber, the Ricks-officers and senators humbly desired the Prince that he would be pleased to walk to the Cathedral Church, where the Archbishop and other prelates

* [It would be idle to speculate on the political motives which may have combined with other reasons to induce Christina of Sweden to conceive and execute this extraordinary design. Other sovereigns have abdicated from the lassitude of age or the burden of unpopularity, or the desire of ensuring the succession to their offspring; but the resignation of a Queen in her twenty-ninth year, surrounded by able ministers and a loyal people, and who had reigned with splendour and success, is an event without a parallel in history. The explanation of it is to be found in the eccentricity, the levity, the feverish curiosity, and the indomitable love of independence and singularity which are to be traced in every part of the Queen's character. She was a woman of powerful but ill-regulated mind, capable at one time of sharing in the speculations of Descartes or of applauding the exhortations of Whitelocke,—at another, of bowing to the spiritual bondage of Rome, and even of committing the brutal murder of Monaldeschi. The character of Cromwell pleased her by its adventurous exploits and its arbitrary tendency, and her reception of the English Embassy was as much the result of personal predilection as of policy. Whitelocke amused her by his somewhat pedantic erudition, and flattered her vanity, but he seems scarcely to have divined the extraordinary variations of her character.]

were ready to attend his Royal Highness, and to perform the solemnities of his coronation. The whole company went thither in this order. The officers and servants of the Court went first in a very great number, together with many officers of the army and other gentlemen. After them came the nobility, the gentlemen, barons, and earls, members of the Ricksdag; then followed the Ricks-Senators, two and two, in rank. After them came the five Ricks-officers: first, the Ricks-Schatzmaster, or High Treasurer, who carried the keys; next to him, the Ricks-Chancellor, who carried the globe; after him came the Ricks-Admiral, who carried the sceptre; then one in the place of the Feldherr, or General, who carried the sword; and lastly the Ricks-Droitset, or Chief Justice, who carried the crown. After the Chief Justice came the King himself, in his ordinary habit, with a huge troop following him, and the windows and streets crowded with multitudes of people. The guards and soldiers stood in their arms as the company passed by.

Being thus come to the Cathedral, at the door stood the Archbishop with a horn of oil in his hand, accompanied with other bishops, superintendents, and many clergymen. He received the Prince at the church door, and conducted him up to the high altar, where they had prayers, and then the Archbishop anointed the Prince with the oil. They put upon him the royal apparel, put the crown upon his head, the sceptre in his right hand, and the ball into his left hand, and so he was invested into the royal dignity, and declared, with all his titles, King of Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, etc.; drums, trumpets, and loud acclamations of the people adding to the proclaiming of their new King.

Not many days past they laboured to hinder the doing of it ; now they shout for joy that it is done. Thus are the minds and practice of the multitude, whom nothing pleaseth long,—nothing more than novelty.

The ceremonies being performed at the Cathedral, the new King, with all his new subjects and servants, returned from thence into the castle in the same order as he came hither. By the way he was saluted with the loud acclamations of the people, “ God save the King !” Thus coming to his Court as he entered it, the abdicated Queen looks out of her window, and with a cheerful countenance and voice heard by the company she wished her cousin joy of his crown and government. The King retires for a while to his private chamber, then is called forth to a sumptuous feast, where most of the nobility and senators did attend upon him and rejoice with him, and afterwards did swear fealty, homage, and allegiance to him.

But this relation was not so pleasing to Whitelocke as the thoughts of his departure from this place, and his longing to proceed in his voyage homewards.

May 31, 1654.

Whitelocke
takes boat
and leaves
the shore ;

The ‘ Swart Hundt ’ set sail this morning with Whitelocke’s goods and copper, Taylor commanding her, and Swedes mariners in her ; the wind was come about indifferent good, for his and for his master’s voyage. Wrangel and Clerke affording Whitelocke their company at dinner, he advised with them what time of the day would be best for him to go from hence. Clerke said that the boats would be ready after dinner to transport him from hence to the Dol-

lars, whither he hoped that by this time the 'Amarantha' might be come. He and Wrangel advised Whitelocke not to go on board the boats till six or seven o'clock in the evening, to avoid the heat of the day, and to enjoy the benefit of the cool of the night, which was better to be endured than the extremity of the heat of the day, especially upon the water; and the heat some affirmed to be at this time as violent in this country as it is in Spain or Italy. Whitelocke found it now as much hotter than England as it is colder in the winter.

About seven o'clock in the evening Whitelocke left his lodging, where they made him pay as an Ambassador Extraordinary. For the use of the house, only for eleven days, they made him pay a hundred and sixty rix-dollars; for his victuals, but one meal a day, without any dainties, they exacted above a thousand rix-dollars. Such is their unconscionable exaction upon strangers. It was time to leave them, and Whitelocke being called by Wrangel and Clerke, he went to prayers with his company, recommending themselves to the protection and blessing of God; and presently after prayers he and all his people went to the water-side, multitudes by the way saluting him with respect as he passed by, and crowding to see him take boat.

He went into a galley of the Queen's attending for him. Most of his gentlemen and Clerke were with him in the galley; the rest of his company went in a great boat provided for them. This galley had two masts bearing the Queen's colours in silk. In the hinder part of it was a room with a table and benches round about it, the table covered with crimson velvet,

the benches with red cloth, and tapestry upon the floor. The room held about ten persons; the outward room about twelve men, besides the watermen for sixteen oars. At her head she carried two small pieces of ordnance, which they fired at loosing from the harbour, and the ships of war fired as they passed by. They went on in a great deep water, sometimes very broad, sometimes more narrow, on the sides whereof were huge rocks, and here and there little trees growing out of the clefts of them, with small heaps of earth lying on them, but they increase not much in that soil.

Many rocks all along on the shores, and islands of rocks, with the smell of the fir-trees on them, was a variety for strangers; and the water being calm, they made use only of their oars. The trumpets sounding where the rocks were most uneven and made concavities, gave much delight by the resounding of seven or eight echoes to one sound. Yet the multitudes of craggy rocks of vast greatness and huge tallness, with their uneven heads and ragged sides, filling all the shores and making many islands, and those causing no small danger in the passage, appeared, especially at first and to the younger seamen, very dreadful and amazing; but after a little acquaintance with them, and constant being in their company, and the seamen knowing the passage, caused the less fear, and the sevenfold answering echoes, as if they had been so many trumpets, gave delight to the hearers, with some admiration of that multiplying sound. But their cheerfulness was increased by meeting with a boat about two Swedish miles from Stockholm, whose men informed Whitelocke that the 'Amarantha' was that day

come into the Dollars, which good news added hopes and spirit to the company of advancing in their voyage towards their longed-for country; and the night seemed the less tedious by discoursing of this providence, that, the same day that Whitelocke came away, his ship should fall down to be ready to meet him, and not sooner, and whereof he knew nothing beforehand.

Clerke informed Whitelocke of the places by which they passed, and the condition of the country. They came into a very narrow way and straits, about a bow-shot in length, where a great vessel could not pass, both for want of breadth and depth of water, the greater boat with Whitelocke striking the sands as she passed over. This way was to get into the road and channel for the ships from Stockholm to the Dollars, which is near twenty Swedish miles for the ships to go about. From this strait they came again into deep water, environed as before with rocks, and full of islands.

When they were within a mile of the Dollars, the wind came about to east and north-east, very fair and good to carry them out to sea, whereas before it was flat against them. Hereupon Whitelocke took occasion, the wind being now good, to order his galley to make way forthright to the 'Amarantha' without going on shore at all, which was done, although it seemed long at the latter end of the way, the company weary, and the watermen tired with rowing, though they did not at all row with that nimbleness and mettle as the English use to do.

and reaches
his ship
at the
Dollars.

When Whitelocke departed from Stockholm the wind was contrary to him; after he was certified by

the boat which he met that the 'Amarantha' was in the Dollars, the wind suddenly changed and was fair for him, and after this providence they came in good time to the ship, the tedious passage of the night being over, wherein Whitelocke slept upon the boards and in the open air,—hardship enough for one of his age and condition, but God was his protection.

JUNE.

June 1, 1654.

HAVING been part of yesterday and all the last night upon the water, this morning, about seven o'clock, Whitelocke and all his company came to the Dollars, and, without setting foot on shore, they went on board the ship 'Amarantha,' lying there to expect them. And although this was not usual, but passengers generally stay some time at this place till their ships be ready, and to make provisions for their voyage, and spend some money at the cabaret here; yet Whitelocke seeing the wind fair, and having all his company together in the boats, was unwilling to let them be scattered by going on shore, which might be troublesome and retard his voyage by getting them all together again. For these reasons he commanded all his people to go forthwith aboard the ship, as he himself did, at which Vice-Admiral Clerke wondered, and said he had not seen the same done before.

This ship, the 'Amarantha,' had never yet been at sea, and therefore the more dangerous to adventure in her first voyage; but she was well built, a fair ship, of a good burden, and had mounted in her forty pieces of brass cannon, two of them demy cannon, and she was well manned and of good force

Whitelocke
embarks in
the Ama-
rantha, and
sails.

and strength for war; she was a good sailer, and would turn and tack about well; she held a hundred persons of Whitelocke's followers and most of his baggage, besides her own mariners, about two hundred. The cabins wherein Whitelocke was were of a handsome make; the breadth of the ship was the length of his bed-cabin, and it was six or seven paces broad, and high enough for the tallest man; it was hung with red cloth, the furniture of the bed was rich cloth of gold and silver; on the table was a rich carpet, and all over it a canopy with broad fringes of silk and gold and silver. Within the bed-cabin was another room for him to retire into, with a table and benches covered with red cloth. All the gentlemen had accommodations as the ship could afford.

Being all settled in the ship, they were fain to stay for the ship-boat which the captain had sent for water; and as soon as it was returned, about ten o'clock in the morning, they weighed anchor and put the ship under sail, recommending themselves to the mercy and protection of Him who rules upon the waters as well as on dry land, and of whose goodness they had so great experience. They sailed by the place called the Scares, that is, the isles of rocks, which are there in the water and on both sides of the shore, of a strange cragginess, largeness, and number; those in the sea are full of danger, and often afford but a very strait passage for the ships to go between them, and no other course is to avoid them. From hence the sea begins to widen herself towards the furthest point of land, which they call the Lands-Ort, answerable to our English point of land called the Land's End in Cornwall. The Lands-Ort is eight Swedish leagues

from the Dollars, and hither they reached by the evening, the wind being east and south-east all this day.

June 2, 1654.

About eleven o'clock the last night the wind came about more to the south, yet Whitelocke advanced in his course and gained some way, but not much, the wind being almost against him; and so it continued in this morning, when there appeared a chain of rocks advancing themselves more than a Swedish mile into the sea, and not far from the isle of *Øeland*, to which rocks it is not good to approach too near. They could not maintain their course but to very small advantage, and by veering up and down to gain a little of the wind, and in this manner they spent this whole day: the wind continuing at south-south-east, they did not advance much all this day, only kept what they had gained before, and held plying up and down in that dangerous sea; their support was that this was the good pleasure of their God, whose will the wind and waters do obey.

Though the weather was not foul, yet it was thick with fog which arose at the foot of the horizon, and the mariners said this weather was ordinary in these seas, but very dangerous. In the evening some of the company made them pastime to divert the tediousness of the way and weather.

June 3, 1654.

About midnight the wind came about somewhat fairer than before, and Whitelocke gained a little in land.

The island
of Goth-

his course. At sunrising he discovered the isle of Gothland, eight leagues distant to the east from the isle of Æland; afterwards the wind returned to the same quarter wherein it was yesterday.

The isle of Æland is near the continent, extending itself in length by the shore eighteen Swedish miles, but hath not in breadth in any place above two Swedish miles. This is the place where the Prince of Sweden, now King, used to make his residence, in a fair castle built of stone of this island, not inferior to marble,—these stones are in great request for pavements, pillars, and other uses and ornaments in building. The pillars of the King's Chapel at Stockholm, great and high, well polished and of divers colours, were brought from this island, and they have many of these stones in the buildings of the great lords. This island is a place of the most field-pleasure of any in this country, being open and stored with red and fallow deer, with hares and conies, and with partridges, which are scarce in other parts; but here the game is preserved for the Prince's pleasure.

The isle of Gothland is about fourteen Swedish miles in length, and five in breadth. It anciently belonged to the Swedes till the Danes took it from them, and kept the possession of it till the late wars between those two crowns, when the Swedes recovered it from the Dane; and by the peace after that war the treaty left it to the Swede, and allowed for it the isle of Bornholm to the Dane, being nearer his dominions. They report that heretofore Gothland (belonging to the Goths, from whom it hath the name) was famous for the traffic of all these quarters, and had in it a large town called Wisby, where formerly

certain laws were instituted touching the sea, which are observed to this day. But Lübeck, and other towns on that side, having got the trade from hence, and the sea by inundations having much diminished this isle, both it and the town are become but of small consideration.

The wind was little and very variable, and this day was a calm, so that they could advance very little in their voyage. In the evening the wind grew fresh, and increased till three o'clock the next morning, so that they made good way in their course ; but these deep seas began to rise, and the ship to roll and toss so much, that some of Whitelocke's people, sensible of it and of the increasing of the wind and waves, and of the mariners' labour and disorder, began to be afraid and sick. But Whitelocke cherished and comforted them the best he could, and gave order for attendance upon them, and that they should want nothing which the ship could afford ; the which was the more in his power, the command of it being wholly left to him by the Queen ; and by his kindness, and ceasing of the storm, they began to recover their courage, the wind changed, and it grew more calm after the ruffling.

June 4, 1654.

The Lord's Day.—Still Whitelocke was toiling on the Baltic Sea. After three o'clock in the morning he advanced a good way in his course ; but about ten o'clock they discovered land, which was the isle of Bornholm, distant from the point of south of Öland eighteen German leagues. It seemeth a plain and flat ground, about eight Swedish miles in length, and

The voyage.
—Born-
holm.

about five in breadth; this isle is fruitful and well peopled, abounding in pastures, so that it yields a good revenue in butter. Many witches are affirmed to be in this isle, and no place in this sea hath more shipwrecks than upon Bornholm. Some give the reason thereof from the strait pass between this isle and the continent; yet is the coast clean and without rocks, and hath good roads; others attribute the cause of these shipwrecks to the great and dangerous sands about this and the other isles of this sea, which (especially about this isle of Bornholm) do lie out far and shallow in the sea, on which many ships have been struck and lost; and here Whitelocke's ship was in some peril, but it pleased God still to preserve him. He floated in sight of this island almost all this day, the wind veering into most points of the compass, and he was turned back from his course and lost more than he gained of his way.

About nine o'clock in the morning the ship's company, having a minister on board with them, were at their exercises of devotion, which they have every morning, beginning with singing a psalm, as we do; then the minister prays, but not long, and the conclusion is to sing about two verses of another psalm, and so they part; except on the Lord's Day, as this was, their chaplain preached a short sermon in the morning in Swedish, but none in the afternoon. Whitelocke for his own company had the usual exercises of praying and preaching by his chaplain Mr. De la Marche, Mr. Ingelo being sick.

Towards the evening the wind began to be fresh again; they kept their course near Bornholm, and might discern the castle. After Whitelocke was gone

to rest, Vice-Admiral Clerke, who was on board with him, followed a ship to inquire if she heard any news of a Swedish ship laden with salt from Portugal; at which some of Whitelocke's company taking offence, the Vice-Admiral desisted; but by this deviation, the 'Amarantha' (which is not fleet of sail) lost three leagues, which she was cast back in her course, and was brought in great danger by sailing too near the shore; but the Lord guided them.

June 5, 1654.

In the morning Whitelocke was out of sight of Bornholm, and pursued his course, the wind blowing a little in a good quarter. About nine o'clock they descried some ships, of which one seemed to be a great one; and coming nearer, they perceived an English ship to be with them. The 'Amarantha' fired a gun to warn them to strike sail, she carrying the flag in her main-top, and being a man-of-war of Sweden. The English captain did not obey, and Clerke commanded to shoot again at him; but Whitelocke ordered Clerke first to send his boat with some of Whitelocke's servants, to advertise the English captain that Whitelocke was in the Swedish ship. They coming on board found the captain in choler, preparing to fight with the Swede, denying their sovereignty on these seas; but being informed by his countrymen that the English Ambassador was on board the Swedish ship, he presently, and Mr. Fisher, a merchant, with him, came to Whitelocke, rejoicing to see him, and said that if he had not been there the Swedish Vice-Admiral should have had hot work; but now he struck sail to the Ambassador,

Meet an
English
ship.

whom he acquainted that all was well in England ; that he had brought in his ship the commissioners to agree the differences between our Commonwealth and Denmark, who were now at Copenhagen ; and that when they passed the Sound, the King of Denmark's officers were very friendly to them. He told Whitelocke also that two English frigates, sent by the Protector for Whitelocke's transportation, were arrived at Hamburg, and waited for Whitelocke there ; after giving him some wine, and discourse, Whitelocke dismissed this Captain Morgan to proceed in his voyage to Danzig, whither he was bound. At his parting all were friends, and Clerke gave him two guns, after the Swedish custom, but Morgan answered him with seven pieces of ordnance ; then Clerke gave him two more guns, to which Morgan gave two also, and a third a little while after.

The 'Amarantha' having loitered by reason of the calm, which continued till the evening, they were most part of this day within sight of the isle of Rügen, near the coast of Pomerland, and part of that Duchy which fell in partage to one of the duke's sons, who there kept his court in a fair castle, whereof somewhat yet remains. The island appears high to those that sail by it, and hath in length about eight German miles, and about five in breadth ; the King Gustavus took it, and it hath since continued in the possession of the Swedes, and was confirmed to them by the late treaty of Munster ; the coast is full of white sands, and dangerous to those who are not well acquainted with the passages, which hereabout are strait, and a bank of sand comes far out into the sea, on which Whitelocke was in great peril, within four-fathom water in

the night ; but they were glad to veer back again and tack about to escape the danger.

The wind blew fresh from the north-east, by which he continued his course till about midnight ; when there came a hideous storm of wind, thunder, rain, and lightning, which caused them to furl their sails, and lasted about three hours ; but the waves continued very high above twelve hours together afterwards, it being the nature of this sea when it is once stirred, that by reason of the great depth it will not be still again for many hours after. Some of Whitelocke's company were much affrighted with this tempest, and not without cause ; but it pleased God to cease the storm, and give fair weather, and thereby more cause to remember the experiences they have had of His divine goodness throughout their whole voyage.

June 6, 1654.

In the morning the wind continued fair, and they made good way till towards eight o'clock, when it grew calm till about seven o'clock in the evening. All this day they were upon the coast of Pomerland. One of the mariners, from the top-gallant, espying land and a town, informed them that it was Wismar ; but coming nearer to the shore, they found it to be Rostock, eight leagues further from Lübeck than Wismar is. Both these towns are subject to the Crown of Sweden, port towns, and of good trade ; Rostock more famous to the High Dutch for their exceeding strong and thick beer.

The coast of
Pomerania.

In the evening the wind blew fair north-west, but the sky grew thick, and the night coming on, they, for fear of falling upon the coast, tacked off again to sea,

and out of their course. About eleven o'clock at night the storm began much more violent than the night before, continuing about six hours, to the imminent danger of the ship to be overset and foundered in the sea, but still God preserved them. About midnight was a horrible noise, the thunder fierce and strangely loud, the sky all in flames with the wonderful lightnings; and though it be frequent to meet with great tempests of thunder and lightnings upon this sea, and much more dreadful than those in England, yet now the officers and mariners of the ship affirmed that they never saw the like to this tempest, and that they were almost blind with the shining and flashes of this lightning. They saw also on the land houses burning, set on fire by the lightning, any flame whereof fastening upon the combustible matter of the ship the same had instantly been fired and all within her inevitably had perished. But still God was their defence and deliverer. The tempest was so outrageous that they were forced to take down their sails and let fall their anchors. Here they found the difference between Sweden and this country: there, at midnight, one might plainly read without a candle; here, though nearer the summer solstice and the days at longest, they found at least four hours of dark night, as seeming near the winter.

June 7, 1654.

Arrive at
Lübeck.

The tempest began to cease about five o'clock in the morning, and it grew fair weather, the wind coming good for them to continue and finish their voyage. Thus God preserved them from the danger of the last night as of many times before, the which Whitelocke

held himself obliged more largely to describe as so many monuments, to him and his company, of the goodness of God towards them, and to preserve the memory thereof as arguments to him and his, wholly to depend upon that God of whom they have had so much experience.

The wind continued fair, and they sailed all along in the sight of land, drawing nearer and nearer to it, which was pleasant to those who had been in such storms, and were not a little longing to be at their native home. They came about ten o'clock in the morning to the road at Lübeck, and no sooner was the ship settled there but the wind ceased and blew not at all, but it became a great calm; wherein also the providence and goodness of God was seen, that had they not come to an anchor at this very moment, they must have been still roaming on the sea till the wind had come about again for them, and perhaps might have been kept out at sea many days longer. They were all filled with joy, having passed one half of their voyage, and seeing the place of their first descent on land. The 'Amarantha,' having let fall her anchors, fired two guns, and a ship of the Duke of Courland's, in the road, answered them with three. This road is a gulf between two arms of land, at the first entrance from one another about a league; but it becomes more narrow as one approacheth nearer to the mouth of the river, which is called Trave, and divides the two Duchies of Mecklenburg and Holstein. This is the road or haven belonging to the town of Lübeck, and is of good defence and safety to secure the riding of ships, and of conveniency for the trade of that town into the Baltic Sea.

After this perilous voyage of eight days' sailing on the angry Baltic Seas,—escaping the dismal, infinite, vast, craggy rocks, seen and unseen, and the covered sands and dangerous coasts, in the highest storms,—it pleased Him who giveth bounds to the deep waters and stilleth the waves thereof, to conduct Whitelocke and all his people in safety to this haven. They were not negligent to prepare for their going on shore, in order whereunto Whitelocke sent Colonel Potley and some of his servants to land, to provide horses for his coach, and waggons for his train and baggage; purposing to go that night to Lübeck, being but two German leagues from Tremon, and the days now at longest.

Potley, according to order, gave notice to the Governor of Tremon of Whitelocke's coming on shore in the territories of his masters, the Lords of Lübeck, and provided boats, horses, waggons, and all things necessary, with diligence and dexterity. Whilst this was doing, Whitelocke calls his company together into his cabin, where they gave thanks to God for their safe arrival in this place, and humbly prayed for the continuance of his blessing and presence with them, the rest of their journey yet to come.

After dinner, Whitelocke sent for Vice-Admiral Clerke and Captain Sinclair into his cabin, where he gave them thanks for the care and pains they had taken for him and his company, and for their particular respects to himself and observance of his desires; whereof he said he would by letters acquaint his Majesty of Sweden, and report to the Protector their respects to him. He desired them to accept a small testimony of his thankfulness for their civilities.

He gave the Vice-Admiral sixty dollars, to distribute to the mariners, and sixty dollars more to the officers of the ship,—that is, the master and his mate, the boatswain, the constable (so they call the master gunner), the gunner's mate, and the rest. To Captain Sinclair he gave eighty ducats, and to the Vice-Admiral one hundred ducats, which were the best compliments, and thankfully accepted by them ; and Whitelocke was the more liberal in these rewards, being to strangers, and for the honour of his nation.

The boats being gone, with the coaches, baggage, and most of the people, and the rest not unwilling to be on shore, Whitelocke, with most of his gentlemen, went in one of the ship-boats ; the Vice-Admiral bare him company, and did him the honour to steer the boat himself ; the rest of the company went in the other ship-boat. After Whitelocke was gone off the length of two or three boats, and whilst the other boat lay by the side of the ship, they fired forty pieces of ordnance, which, being so very near, did, with the wind, or fear of the cannon, strike down some that were in the boat, who were more than frightened, inso-much that one of them, after he came to Lübeck, continued very ill with swooning fits ; but by the care of Doctor Whistler and good cordials, through the blessing of God, he recovered, and was well again.

They went about half a league by water from the ship to the mouth of the river, where there is a little fort with some great guns mounted, and without that are small towers for lights to direct the seamen, and a village called Tremon, where they landed, all belonging to the city of Lübeck. *Mon*, in High Dutch, signifies a mouth, and *Tre* is the name of the river ; so

Tremon is the mouth of the river Tre. At their landing stood, ready to receive them, a tall old man, with a long, white, venerable beard ; he wore a broad belt, with a long basket-hilted sword ; he was a Colonel, and Governor of that fort. He spake to Whitelocke in High Dutch, which Potley interpreted to this effect :—

“ My Lord Ambassador,

“ In the name of my masters, the Lords of Lübeck, I bid your Excellence welcome on shore and to this place.”

Whitelocke answered him as shortly :—

“ Noble Colonel,

“ I heartily thank you for your civility, whereof I hope ere long to have the opportunity to acquaint your masters the Lords of Lübeck.”

As Whitelocke passed by they fired three guns from the fort. The Colonel conducted Whitelocke to his house, near the landing-place, multitudes of people flocking together. The house was not stately, nor very convenient. There they were entertained with great store of very strong beer, which they call *mum* ; and the Colonel was exceeding free to call for large flagons of it for Whitelocke and for all his people ; which Whitelocke apprehending to have been the generosity of the Governor, yet fearing some disorder by it among the inferior sort, and being whispered by Colonel Potley that the Governor expected to be paid for his drink, which he usually sold to the passengers, Whitelocke ordered the reckoning to be paid, and hasted from this honourable alehouse to his coach.

It was about four o'clock in the afternoon when Whitelocke went from Tremon, from whence to Lübeck is two Dutch miles, that is, eight of our English

miles. And coming with such a train, and to pass the usual ceremony in such cases to the Lords of Lübeck, Whitelocke sent Mr. Berkman and one of his servants before, to salute the Lords of Lübeck in the name of the Protector, as friends to the Commonwealth of England, and to advertise them, that the English Ambassador having occasions to pass through this city, and to be there this day, he thought it requisite to give them notice of it. In the midway between Tremon and Lübeck they came to a ferry over the Trave; the boat was large enough to carry at once two coaches and many horses. At each end of the ferry-boat such artificial work is made with planks that it serves both at the coming in and going out of the boat, meeting with the planks on each side of the shore. By the weight of coach, horses, waggons, cattle, or men, the planks are so wrought that they rise and fall according to the weight upon them, and so as both those on the shore and the ends of the boat come to be even, and without more trouble in the passing over them than a bridge would be.

The great company, and some mishap of tearing one of his coaches, hindered Whitelocke's journey; but they went on in good time. About an English mile before they came to Lübeck, some company appearing on the road, Whitelocke's lacqueys alighted out of their waggons, and Whitelocke was met upon the way by an ancient person of a good portly carriage, with a great white beard, and a greater ruff. He was attended with four coaches; the first had six good horses in it, and was handsome, but not rich. The gentleman, being alighted, and then Whitelocke also, he came and saluted Whitelocke, and spake to him in the High Dutch, to this effect:—

“ My Lord Ambassador,

“ My masters, the Lords of Lübeck, have sent me with their coaches to conduct your Excellence into their city, and to bid you welcome hither ; and to assure you likewise that whatsoever this city will afford shall be at your Excellence’s service.”

Whitelocke returned this answer :—

“ Sir,

“ I esteem it an honour to receive this respect from the Lords of Lübeck, your masters, for which ere long I hope to have the opportunity to give them thanks ; and in the meantime give me leave to acknowledge your civility.”

This person they call the Marshal of the town, whom the Lords sent to meet Whitelocke, to answer his civility of sending to them, which they took kindly. Then a young gentleman, well mounted and habited, met Whitelocke on the way with a packet of three weeks’ letters from England, which he said Mr. Missenden, his father, received from Mr. Bradshaw, the Protector’s Resident at Hamburg, with order to send them to Whitelocke to Lübeck.

Whitelocke went into the coach of the Lords of Lübeck ; with him were the Marshal, and Colonel Potley to interpret for him. The country through which they passed was pleasant and fruitful, stored with groves, and fields of corn not enclosed, but much like the champaign counties of England, only more woody, and seemed the pleasanter to those who were lately come out of Sweden and from the Baltic Sea. Part of the country was the Duchy of Mecklenburg, and part of it Holstein.

When they drew near the city Whitelocke ordered that his staffiers and lacqueys, in their liveries, should walk by his coach bare, and his pages after them ; then

his gentlemen and others in the other coaches and wag-gons, in which equipage they entered the city. At the first fort they saluted Whitelocke with three pieces of ordnance, and at the gates of the city were good guards, with their muskets. The streets were filled with people, and many in the windows—not so many men as women; and those of the best rank and habit were with their bodies and smock sleeves, like the maids in England in hot weather. Here the best women, whose age will bear it, are thus habited, and with it sometimes rich clothes and jewels. When they were come into the city, the Marshal took his leave of Whitelocke, saying that he must go to the Lord, to advertise him of Whitelocke's arrival.

Whitelocke passed through a great part of the town before he came to the inn appointed for his reception, which was fairer without than within doors, the rooms for eating and lodging neither handsome nor well finished. About half an hour after he was come to the inn, the Lords of the town sent one of their officers to him, to know what time he would be pleased to appoint for them to come and salute him. Whitelocke answered, that whensoever they thought fit to do him the honour to visit him they should be welcome, and left to them the time which should be most convenient for their own occasions.

Being settled and at a little quiet, he read his letters from England. Thurloe acquaints him that the issue of his negotiation, and the prudent conduct of it, had very good acceptance in England, whither his return was much wished and prayed for. Then he informs him of all the news both foreign and domestic, and the readiness of the Protector to send ships for him to

Hamburg. From Mr. Cokaine he had several letters about his bills of exchange, and other particular affairs. He had also letters from Mr. Taylor, from Resident Bradshaw, from his wife, and from several loving friends in England.

June 8, 1654.

Whitelocke
receives the
Senate of
Lübeck.

In the morning the Lords of Lübeck sent again to Whitelocke, to know what time they might come to visit him. He answered, at their own time, and that they should be welcome to him within an hour. There came to him Martin Bokel, Doctor of the Laws, Syndic of the city, of good reputation for his learning and abilities, Jerome Bilderbeck, and Matthew Rodde, Senators and Lords of the city. The Syndic spake in French to Whitelocke to this effect:—"That, by command of the Lords of this city, those gentlemen, part of their number, and himself, were come in the name of the Lords of Lübeck to salute Whitelocke, and to bid him welcome to their city; that they rejoiced at his safe arrival here, and for the good success of those affairs wherein he had been employed." Whitelocke answered them in French, the same language in which they spake to him, and which is expected in these parts, to this effect:—"That the Lords of Lübeck had testified much respect to the Protector of England by the honour done to his servant, of which he would inform his Highness; and in the meantime he thanked them for the favour of this visit."

After many compliments, Whitelocke gave them the precedence into his lodging, which is the custom here, as in Sweden, and their discourse was in French in these matters of ceremony. Being sat together in his

bedchamber, the Syndic told Whitelocke that he had a message to deliver to him from his Lords; and, according to the custom in matters of business, he desired to deliver what he had to say in Latin, and then spake to him in the following oration:—

“Illustrissime et Excellentissime Domine Legate,

“Amplissimus Senatus Lubicensis grato animo recognoscit celeberrimam nationem Anglicanam multiplici favore à multis retro annis populum mercatoresque hujus civitatis affectisse, atque etiam sæviente inter utrasque respublicas durissimo bello, incolas nostras gratiam, et, ex occasione suarum navium ad mare captarum, justitiam accepisse: amplissimus Senatus humillimè gratias suas refert, quas melius testari non potuerunt, quam erga personam illius conditionis tantæque eminentiæ quantæ Excellentiam vestram esse acceperant, suo speciali respectu, ad hæc cum etiam Extraordinarii Legati munere à clarissimo illo statu nunc dignissimè fungatur. Gratulatur amplissimus Senatus negotiationis ab Excellentia vestra peractæ felicem successum, ut et tanti viri in suam civitatem adventum. Quod si apud se in sua civitate aliquid sit Excellentiæ vestræ acceptu dignum, illud quicquid sit offerre in mandatis habemus.

“Dolore etiam afficitur Senatus, se tam sero de Excellentiae vestræ adventu certiolem esse factum, ut rationes unde tantus hospes, et qui in ipsius comitatu sunt, pro merito exciperentur; melius inire non potuerit, se tamen sperare à clementia vestra ipsis id crimini non datum iri. Per nos rogant hujus urbis magistratus, Excellentiae vestræ placeat, cervisiæ Lubicensis vinique Rhenani (quod officiariis Excellentiae vestræ tradi curaverant) parvulum utut munus boni consulere.

“Excellentissime Domine, candore vestro freti speramus, non nobis id vitio datum iri, si etiam hoc temporis articulo paucula ex rebus nostris vestræ Excellentiae considerata proponamus: intempestivè fatemur importuni sumus, sed certiores facti, non diuturnam fore vestram in civitate nos-

tra moram, id solliciti timemus, ne aliquando nobis similis offeratur opportunitas ; ideo à dominis nostris jubemur Excellentiam vestram certiores facere, quam plures hujus urbis naves inter navigandum negotii causâ, occurrentes navibus præliaribus Angliæ, ab iisdem examen subiisse, liberatas tamen extemplò et dimissas, quod nihil suppetiarum hostibus vestris contulisse deprehendebantur ; nihilominus easdem naves à quibusdam privatis vestris captoribus, *capers* dictis, non multò post apprehensas fuisse, et hucusque detentas esse, magno dominorum detrimento.

“ Sperat amplissimus Senatus, intercedente Excellentia vestra, ex justitia et favore Domini Protectoris, restitutionem earundem secundum jus et æquum suo populo futuram, quem in finem, tam magistratus, quem hujusce civitatis populus suppliciter rogat favorem et amicitiam Celsitudinis suæ Domini Protectoris, et illustrissimæ reipublicæ Angliæ, in iis, quæ vel commercia vel etiam alia spectant, posse sibi continuari.”

After a little pause Whitelocke made answer in Latin to the Syndic's speech, to the effect following :—

“ Spectatissimi viri,

“ Rectè à vobis observatum est, antiquam fuisse inter populum Anglicanum civesque Lubicenses amicitiam et mutuam officiorum benevolentiam ; nec defuisse unquam nobis, data occasione, Domini mei Domini Protectoris reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ, animum benevolentissimum, quem integrum adhuc à Serenissima sua Celsitudine erga vos conservari nullus dubito. Nec suspicio mihi est, quin amplissimus Senatus, hujusque celeberrimæ urbis liberi cives, Dominum meum Dominum Protectorem honore omni debito prosequantur, et benevolo affectu quotquot Anglorum, commercii aut conversationis causâ, apud vos appellere voluerint.

“ Referte, quæso, meo nomine, amplissimo hujus civitatis Senatui, gratias ob respectum erga Dominum meum Dominum Protectorem rempublicamque Anglicanam, in hono-

rificâ mei eorum ministri receptione significatum, tam in appulsu meo ad suum portum, quam ad civitatem suam aditu, necnon in munere quod mihi offerre ipsis placuit : honori duco quod per me, in suis negotiis, Dominum Protectorem compellare ipsis visum est, quod munus in me libenter recipio præstandum, quamprimum Deo placuerit ad Serenissimam suam Celsitudinem mihi reditum indulgere, cui id curæ est, ut unicuique quod est juris uniuscujusque tribuatur. Non equidem dubito, quin particularia favoris et respectûs erga hanc celeberrimam civitatem specimina reipsa effecta comperiamini."

The Syndic replied in French, that they did give many thanks to Whitelocke, in that he was pleased to take in so good part the respect of this City to him, and desired that if there were anything here which might do him service, that he would command it. Whitelocke said he came by this City in a desire to see it and the fortifications of it, which, if they pleased to give him leave to do, he should take it as a favour. They said, that even now the Senate had ordered Monsieur Bilderbeck and the commander of their forces to wait upon Whitelocke at such time as he should appoint, to view the city, with their fortifications and magazines, and whatsoever here should be thought by him worthy of his sight. Whitelocke thanked them, and discoursed touching the government of the City, and what laws they used, to which the Syndic answered, that their government was chiefly and generally by the municipal laws and customs of the city.

Of these gentlemen and others Whitelocke learned that this city is the chief and most ancient of the Hanse Towns of Germany, and a kind of free State ; that they have power to send Commissioners as public ministers to any foreign prince or State, to treat and conclude with them about any matters relating to their

The franchises of Lübeck.

city, and that without the leave or knowledge of the Emperor.

The people of the city chiefly are the merchants and artificers, most of them tradesmen ; and both they who are masters, and their servants, being constantly employed in trades and personal businesses, they are the less troublesome in the government of them ; as to the criminal part, idleness, being the mother of mischief, causeth quarrels and debaucheries, from whence pilferings, robberies, fightings, and murders do arise ; but where people are kept to occupations, traffic, and employments, as they are here, it breeds civility, peaceableness of disposition, desire of rest and quiet, and a plentiful subsistence, and gives less occasion of proceedings in criminal offences. But as to suits upon bargains and contracts, they are the more, because there be so many contracts as merchants and tradesmen must make ; yet those suits are here brought to a speedy determination within themselves by their ordinary judges, which are three, and usually assisted with a doctor or licentiate in the laws, who are in great esteem in this country. These judges commonly sit thrice a week, to determine civil controversies, which they do by their own laws and customs, which also have much affinity to the civil law, especially as to the forms and manners of their proceedings ; and where the matter contended for exceeds the value of a thousand rix-dollars, there the party grieved may, if he please, appeal from the sentence of these judges to the Imperial Chamber at Spire, as they also do in capital causes ; but civil causes under the value of a thousand dollars are finally determined within themselves, and no appeal lies from them.

They acknowledge the Emperor as their protector,

but afford him no gabels or taxes but what their deputies, whom they elect and send to the general Diet of the Empire, do assent unto. Their chief officers are a Burgomaster, like our Mayor, twenty-four Senators, like our Common Council, and a Syndic, as our Recorder. These are the chief Council and Judicatory of the city, and order all the public affairs thereof; only in some extraordinary occasions of making laws or foreign treaties, matters of war and peace, the people of the town make choice of deputies, sometimes forty or fifty,—more or less, as they please,—who sit and consult with the Senate, and by their votes by the people, who willingly submit thereunto.

The town-house of their Guildhall is reasonably fair, not extraordinary. Their Court of Justice is below at the upper end of a large hall, made four-square, with seats like the Court of Exchequer in England; above this is another Court or Council-house, greater than that below, which is for the meeting of the Deputies of the Hanse Towns, who usually all assemble here; they have also several other chambers for the meetings and consultations of their own Senators and officers about the affairs of the city.

In the afternoon the Commander or Lieutenant-General of the forces of the town, whom they call Obrist Lieutenant, Monsieur Andreas Keiser, and the Senator Bilderbeck, came, with four of the city coaches, to accompany Whitelocke to see the town and fortifications of it. The Senator spoke only Latin, the Lieutenant spoke good French. They went through most parts of the town, and found the figure of it exactly done in painting in a table in their magazine, with the fortifications of it: upon the view of the whole town, it

Aspect of
the city.

seemed a pleasant and noble city. It is of great antiquity, freedom, privileges, trade, polity, and strength, few in these parts exceeding it; not unhealthful in the situation, beautiful in the buildings, profitable in the commerce, strong in the fortifications, and rich in the inhabitants.

The streets are large and fair, kept clean and sweet; the houses built of brick, generally uniform, most in the frontispieces, and covered with tile; at the entry into them, usually the first and lower room is largest, paved with Orland stone, full of streaks of red and white, and some with black and white rich marble. In this first room they use to set their best household stuff, as the chief room for entertainment; yet they will also in some part of the room have a partition with boards, above a man's height, for a kitchen, where they dress meat and hang their bacon and other provison, which are not out of sight nor smell; and here also, in this room, some of their goods of merchandise are placed; but the better sort keep their houses more neat, and have kitchens and larders out of view. In the second story are ordinarily the lodging-rooms, and some for entertainment; the third and fourth stories are granaries and storehouses, which they hold better for such uses than cellars and lower rooms, which, they say, cause damage to the commodities.

The country about, for a league, and in some parts two leagues or more, belongs to the city, is within their jurisdiction, and is fruitful and pleasant, sweetly watered by the Trave, adorned by the groves and meadows, and many pleasant summer-houses for the recreation of the citizens.

The town is regularly and strongly fortified, the more being situated in a plain and low country, with the rivers and waters about it; the grafts of the works are large and deep, full of water on all sides; between the bulwarks are large places, sufficient to draw together five hundred men in each vacant place; and on the banks of some of the ditches are low thorn hedges, kept cut, as good for defence as palisades. There be many pieces of ordnance mounted on several parts of the works, chiefly on the bulwarks, and divers of them are demi-cannon: the fortifications are about a league in compass; the Trave furnisheth water for all the grafts, and the earth with which the lines are made is of a good sort and well turfed. They are well stored with arms and ammunition, which Whitelocke was admitted to see in their arsenal, which is a large house; in the lower room were twelve mortar-pieces of several sizes, and two hundred pieces of brass ordnance, founded in the town, some of them great culverin, one of an extraordinary length; but there was neither powder nor ball—that was kept elsewhere; but here were the utensils to load and cleanse the guns, hung up in order, and the carriages were strong and good. The story above this was furnished with arms, few for horse or pikemen; but many muskets and swords, disposed in ranks the whole length of the room, with bandoliers between, and cases for bullets beneath; at the upper end of the room hung certain great swords, with which traitors had been beheaded; at the lower end of the room were many halberds; divers of the muskets were firelocks, others for match, and some with double barrels. There was in all, by conjecture, arms for twelve thousand foot, few pikes or

Fortifications and arsenal of Lübeck.

horse-arms, but muskets, as most useful for a town, and according to the custom in these parts, where the companies in the town militias are only musketeers, they holding pikes not proper but in the field and against horse.

The forces of this city constantly in pay are fifteen hundred men, besides twenty-five companies of the citizens, each company consisting of two hundred men, and two troops of horse of the citizens. Their chief strength, under God, consisting in the bodies of their citizens, proper and stout men, who, if they come to fight *pro aris et focis*, for religion, liberty, wives and children, and estates, for their all, are full of courage; not like mercenary, unfixed, unfaithful men, whose trade is in blood, and who are pests to mankind.

Honours
paid to
Whitelocke.

At their Guildhall they entertained Whitelocke and his company with wine and sweetmeats, but not profusely. After a long and large tour, they brought Whitelocke back to his inn, and did him the honour to sup with him; and, with much respect and civility, the Obrist-Lieutenant and Senator after supper took their leaves of Whitelocke. Divers men and women of the best quality of the citizens came with their children to Whitelocke's inn to see him, and many of them would stand by whilst he was at meals. He caused his people to show all civility to them, as himself did, saluting the gentlemen and seeming to offer to kiss the women's hands, the salutation of the lip not being in these countries allowed.

The Lords sent a guard of twelve musketeers to attend Whitelocke, which were placed at his door and in the street, and relieved by others during the time of Whitelocke's stay here, as an expression of their

respects to him. The town musicians, who were masters, well accoutred and behaved, and played some English lessons, and the town trumpets and drums, came likewise to show their respects to Whitelocke, but the more readily in expectation of some reward from him, which expenses cannot honourably be avoided. Whitelocke's four pages, eight lacqueys, and four grooms, besides the gentlemen's lacqueys, in his livery, walked bare by his coach-side when he went abroad; himself was in his plain grey English cloth suit, with the Queen of Sweden's jewel at his breast. The people were full of respect to him in their salutations as he passed by them.

The secretary of the English company at Hamburg came to Whitelocke from the Resident and company there, to invite him to the English house there, with expression of much ceremony and respect to him as their countryman. Whitelocke was not willing to stay longer than one day in this town, and therefore ordered his officers to make preparations of horses and waggons to remove from hence tomorrow; and understanding that it was forty English miles from hence to Hamburg, and much of the way bad, he thought it too long a journey for him, with so great a train and hired horses, to travel in one day, and therefore ordered to go from hence tomorrow in the afternoon, to lie at a village midway between Lübeck and Hamburg. The Lords of Lübeck, with much courtesy, offered him to lodge in a house of theirs three leagues from hence, and to make use of their horses; but he thought it not convenient, the house not being furnished and their horses not used to travel, and he having sent before to the village midway to take up

his quarters; for which reasons he excused it to the Lords, yet with many thanks for their courteous offers.

June 9, 1654.

The
Lutheran
Church at
Lübeck.

Several gentlemen of the English company at Hamburg, and among them his nephew, Sir Humphry Bennett's son, came hither to visit and accompany Whitelocke to Hamburg. The Senators and Syndic and Obrist-Lieutenant, who had been before with Whitelocke, came to take their leaves of him. From them and others Whitelocke learnt, that the religion professed in this city is after the doctrine of Luther and the Augsburg confession; yet some Calvinists are permitted, though not publicly, among them, and some Papists are also connived at, though not publicly tolerated to exercise their worship; yet some of them live in a college of Canons, who have a fair house and good revenues in this city.

They have many images and crucifixes in their churches: one, made of earth, of the Virgin Mary, very exactly, is believed by many goodwives of the town, that, upon worshiping and praying to it, they shall become fruitful. In the same church is a rare tablet of the passion of our Saviour, admired by artists for the rare painting and lineaments of it. Above the altar is a little image of our Lady, so contrived with wires fastened to it, that one, being hid on the other side of it, may make it turn forward and backward, to the admiration of the multitude of spectators, who know, by the motion of the image, whether the offerings which they make, and lay upon the altar, be acceptable or not; if one gives a small offering, the

image turns away from it in disdain of it; if it be a fat offering, it turns towards it in token of acceptance; and though they tell these stories themselves, yet still they retain these images and trumperies among them. This church is of a good length and breadth, but the height is not proportionable: it hath few monuments of note, only some of their Bishops and Canons, among which one is indeed remarkable, which they will needs have to be believed, where a Canon was buried some hundreds of years since, yet now sometimes is heard to knock in his grave, whereupon instantly some one or other of his surviving brethren, the Canons, gives up the ghost, and comes to the dead Canon at his call.

From hence Whitelocke went and viewed the other churches, all alike furnished with images and crucifixes, and full of pews, fitted according to the quality of the parishioners. The churches are built of brick, and some of them covered with copper, which they brought from Sweden in older times. They use a liturgy, not much differing from our old Book of Common Prayer; their ministers are grave and formal; they commend them for pious and learned and good preachers; but Whitelocke, not having the favour to see one of them at his lodging, can give the less particular account of them.

Whitelocke also learnt that the trade of this city is the most of any town on this side the Baltic Sea, having a convenient port or road at Tremon, belonging to this city, from whence they send into all parts of that sea, and have the advantage for the commerce of copper, deal, hemp, flax, pitch, tar, and all the commodities of those parts; and by this port, they save

The trade
of Lübeck.

the trouble and charge of going about through the Sound, which southern merchants do.

Before the Swedes had much traffic, and built their own ships, and employed their own mariners, which is not ancient, Lübeck did more flourish, and had the sole trade of Sweden, and of vending their commodities again into all parts of the world; whereby the Lübeckers grew great and rich, especially by the copper and iron which they brought from Sweden hither, and wrought it into utensils and arms, and then carried it back to Sweden for the use of the inhabitants there; who, growing in time more wise, and learning to work their own materials, and to build and employ their own ships in trade, and the city of Hamburg growing up and increasing in trade, and particularly by the staple for English cloth being there settled, and those of Lübeck not admitting strangers among them, their town began to decay, and to lessen in their trade and wealth, and is not now so considerable as in former times, yet still they drive a good trade into the Baltic Sea and other parts, but not with so great ships as others use, which they build at home, of about a hundred and fifty and two hundred tons; and they affirm that they have built here ships of four hundred tons, but there is difficulty for them to go down to the river, by reason of the shallows, which yet serves to bring up their commodities in great boats by the river, from the ships to this town. They find the smaller vessels useful for their trade, and to build them they are provided of good store of timber out of Germany, Denmark, and Sweden; and, by their consent, the King of Denmark doth sometimes make use of their town and carpenters to build ships for himself.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, the baggage and most of Whitelocke's inferior servants went away. The Lords offered Whitelocke a party of their horse for the guard of his person; but he, with thanks for their courtesy, refused it, having store of company well armed of his own retinue, besides some English of Hamburg who were come to him. The Lübeckers commended the sobriety and plainness of Whitelocke and his company; only they said his liveries were very noble; and they wondered that they saw no more drinking among them, and that he had so constant exercises of religious duties in his family.

The Senators and Syndic came again to compliment Whitelocke for the Lords, and to wish him a good journey; and, after ceremonies passed, about four o'clock in the afternoon, Whitelocke took his coach for Hamburg; he had another coach and four waggons for his people. As he passed through the streets, multitudes of all sorts stood to see him go by, respectively saluting him. At the gates were guards of soldiers, and having passed the last port, they saluted him with three pieces of ordnance, according to their custom, but with no volleys of small-shot; and so he took his leave of Lübeck. Being come into the road, and his pages and lacqueys in the waggons, he made what haste he could in his journey with hired horses, and so much company.

Whitelocke
proceeds to
Hamburg.

The country was pleasant and fruitful, groves of wood, fields of corn, pastures, brooks, and meadows adorning it: it is an open champaign; few hedges, but some little ones made with dry wood, like our hurdles, for fencing their gardens and dividing their corn-grounds. The way was exceeding bad, especially

for this time of the year, full of deep holes and sloughs in some places and of great stones in others. This Duchy of Holstein seems to take its name from *holt*, which, with them and in Sweden and with us, signifies wood, and *stein*, which is a stone; and this country is very full of wood and stone; yet is it fruitful, and, like England, delightful to the view, but it is not so full of towns, there not being one in the way between Lübeck and this night's quarter, which is five German, twenty English, miles. But a few small houses lie scattered by the way; and about four miles from Kettell, this night's lodging was a fair brick house by the side of a large pond, which is the house belonging to Lübeck, where they offered Whitelocke to be entertained, and he found cause afterwards to repent his not accepting their courtesy.

When they came to the lamentable lodging taken up for him this night, they found in all but two beds for their whole company. The beds were made only of straw and fleas mingled together; the antechamber was like a great barn, wherein was the kitchen on the one side, the stable on the other side; the cattle, hogs, waggons, and coaches were also in the same great chamber together. They made themselves as merry as they could in this posture, Whitelocke cheering and telling them that it was in their way home, and therefore to be borne with the less regret. They of the house excused the want of accommodations, because the war had raged there, and the soldiers had pillaged the people of all they had, who could not yet recover their former happy and plentiful condition; which was not helpful to Whitelocke and his people, who must take things as they were, and make the best

shift they could. His officers had provided meat sufficient for them; he caused fresh straw enough to be laid all over the room, which was the more tolerable in this hot season. He himself lay in one of his coaches, his sons and some of his servants in straw, near him; the rest of the company, men and women, on straw, where they chose to lie in the room, only affording place for the horses, cows, sheep, and hogs, which quartered in the same chamber together with this good company.

June 10, 1654.

In his coach, through God's goodness, Whitelocke slept well, and all his people on the ground on fresh straw, yet not so soundly as to hinder their early rising this morning, when they were quickly ready, none having been put to the trouble of undressing themselves the last night. His carriages, twelve great waggons, went away about four o'clock this morning, some of the gentlemen's servants in the van, one upon each waggon; his porter, butlers, and others, in a waggon in the rear, with store of pistols, screwed guns, swords, and other arms, for their defence. Whitelocke came forth about six o'clock with his own two coaches, and eight waggons for the rest of his followers. In some of their waggons they drive three horses on-breast, and each waggon will hold eight persons. They passed by better houses in this dorf than that where they quartered, which the harbingers excused, coming thither late and being strangers.

The country was still Holstein, of the same nature as yesterday. In the lower grounds they saw many

storks, one whereof was killed by one of Whitelocke's company with his gun,—a thing not endured here, where they are very superstitious, and hold it an ill omen where any of them is killed. But Whitelocke, blessed be God! found it not so; yet he warned his people not to kill any of them, to avoid offence to the country, who report that these birds will not resort to any place but where the people are free, as in the United Provinces, where they have many of them, and do carefully preserve them, and near to Hamburg and other Hanse Towns.

About a mile from Kettell is a great gate cross the highway, where they take toll for the Duke of Holstein of all the waggons and carriages, a loup-shilling apiece (that is, little more than an English penny). This gate they shut against Whitelocke, but being informed who he was, they presently opened it again, and a gentleman came to Whitelocke's coach-side, excusing the shutting of the gate, being before they knew who it was that passed by. He told Whitelocke the custom and right of this toll, but that nothing was demanded of ambassadors, who were to pass freely, especially the Ambassador of the Protector and Commonwealth of England, to whom the Duke, his master, he said, was a friend. Whitelocke thanked the gentleman for his civility, acknowledging the Protector to be a friend to the Duke, and so they passed on.

About a mile and a half before they came to Hamburg, Captain Parkes, of the 'President' frigate, and Captain Minnes, of the 'Elizabeth' frigate, met Whitelocke on the way, and told him all was well in England, and that by command of the Protector they had

brought those two frigates into the Elbe to transport him into England. Whitelocke told them he was very glad to see them, especially on this occasion. As they were walking and discoursing of the ships and their voyage, a great number of persons and coaches, the Resident Bradshaw, with the treasurer, the doctor, their minister, and almost all the English company, with twenty-two coaches, came to meet Whitelocke on the way, and to bring him with the more respect to Hamburg. All alighted out of their coaches, and, after salutations, the Resident told Whitelocke that the occasion of their coming forth was to testify their respects to Whitelocke, and to desire him to do their company the honour to accept of the English house at Hamburg for his entertainment. Whitelocke gave them hearty thanks for their respects to the Protector and to the Commonwealth whereof they were members, in this honour which they did to their servant. He accepted of their courteous offer, desiring the company and conversation of his countrymen above all others. They walked a little on foot together, where the Lord Resident (so they styled him) showed Whitelocke his last week's letters from Thurloe, mentioning the imprisonment of many upon suspicion that they were engaged in a plot against the Protector, and that the serious considerable malignants discovered it. He also delivered to Whitelocke private letters from his wife and other friends.

About a mile from the place where they met was a fair inn by the wayside, where the Resident moved Whitelocke to make a halt and rest himself, because if he should then go directly to the town, he would come into it just at dinner-time, which would not be

convenient. Upon his persuasion, and perceiving that a preparation was here made, Whitelocke went in, where the English company entertained him with a plentiful dinner at a long table holding above sixty persons. From hence, with Whitelocke's approbation, the Resident, as from himself, sent to the Governor of the Militia at Hamburg, as Whitelocke had done before to the Lords, to advertise them of his coming. The Governor returned thanks, and said that two senators were appointed to receive Whitelocke at the Port. After dinner they all took their coaches. With Whitelocke was the Resident and Treasurer; the rest in the other coaches, the pages and lacqueys riding and walking by.

The country is here low and rich, sprinkled with rivers, and adorned with many neat and sweet houses belonging to the citizens of Hamburg, who resort to those houses in the summer-time with their families to have the fresh air.

Arrival at
Hamburg.

Almost an English mile before they came to the town, the highway was full of people come forth to see Whitelocke pass by. At the port were no Senators to receive him, but great guards of musketeers and multitudes of all sorts of people, there and through all the streets unto his lodging thronging so that the coaches could not pass till the guards made way. The people were very courteous, and Whitelocke answered to the meanest their civility, which is pleasing and not costly. The windows and doors were also crowded, which showed the populousness of the place and their expectation as to the Commonwealth of England. They brought Whitelocke to the English house, which is fair and large, the first room below, according to the fashion

of Lübeck ; the chambers, especially where Whitelocke lay, handsomely furnished.

Within half an hour after his arrival, an officer of the town, in the nature of a master of the ceremonies, came from the Lords of the town to bid Whitelocke welcome thither, and to know what hour he would appoint for admittance of some of the Lords to visit him. Whitelocke returned thanks to the Lords for their respects, and prayed the gentleman to tell them that whensoever they pleased to give him the honour of a visit, they should be welcome to him. Within half an hour after came two Senators, Herr Jurgen van Holtz and Herr Jacob Silm. After ceremonies passed, Holtz spake in French to Whitelocke, to this effect :—

“ Monseigneur, qui êtes Ambassadeur Extraordinaire de sa Sérénissime Altesse Oliver, par la grâce de Dieu Seigneur Protecteur de la République d’Angleterre ; aussitôt que les Messieurs de cette ville ont été avertis de votre intention de passer par cette ville-ci, ils ont été désireux de témoigner leurs très-humbles respects à Monsieur le Protecteur et à votre personne en particulier, en suite de quoi nous avons reçu commandement de vous venir saluer, et faire à votre Excellence la bienvenue en cette ville. Ils sont extrêmement aises de l’heureux succès que Dieu vous a donné en votre négociation en Suède, et qu’il lui a plu aussi vous donner un bon passage, et favoriser votre retour jusqu’en ce lieu, après avoir surmonté beaucoup de difficultés, et échappé beaucoup de dangers, et nous prions sa Divine bonté qu’il vous rende en sauve-té dans votre pays. Nous sommes aussi commandés de reconnaître les faveurs que Monseigneur le Protecteur d’une si grande République a faites à notre ville et aux habitans d’icelle, et particulièrement durant la guerre entre l’Angleterre et les Pays Bas, en libérant et déchargeant nos navires. Nous souhaitons à ce fleurissant état la continua-

Reception
of the
Senate of
Hamburg.

tion et l'accroissement de la faveur Divine pour leur conservation et accroissement de plus en plus, et nous espérons que Monseigneur le Protecteur continuera avec la République ses faveurs envers notre ville, qui sera toujours prête de leur rendre tous offices et humbles respects."

After a little recollection, Whitelocke answered in French to the Senator's speech thus :—

"Messieurs, j'ai grande occasion de louer le nom de Dieu, de sa protection de moi et de ma suite, en notre long et périlleux voyage, et pour l'heureux succès qu'il m'a donné en ma négociation, et ma sauve arrivée en ce lieu, en mon retour en mon pays. Je vous désire de remercier Messieurs les Sénateurs de cette ville du respect qu'ils ont témoigné envers sa Sérénissime Altesse mon maître et la République d'Angleterre, par l'honneur qu'ils ont fait à leur serviteur, de quoi je ne manquerai d'en informer : j'avais grande envie de voir cette illustre ville, et mes compatriotes qui par accord vivent ici, desquels j'ai appris avec beaucoup de contentement que leurs privilèges ici étaient maintenus par Messieurs les magistrats, lesquels je désire d'être informés que son Altesse mon maître prendra en fort bon part le respect et la justice qu'on fera aux Anglais qui se trouvent ici, chose que je croie tournera en avantage aux uns et aux autres. Je vous rends grâces aussi de vos bons souhaits pour la prospérité de notre nation, à laquelle Dieu a donné tant de preuves de sa présence, et je prie le même Dieu aussi pour l'heureux succès de cette ville, et de tous les habitans d'icelle."

After Whitelocke had done, the Senator again spake to him, desiring him, in the name of the Lords of the town, to accept a small present which they had sent, in testimony of their respects towards him, and said that it was somewhat for his kitchen and somewhat for his cellar. The present which they sent for his kitchen, and was laid upon the pavement in the hall,

was this :—four great whole sturgeons, two great fresh salmons, one calf, two sheep, two lambs. The present for the cellar was a hogshead of Spanish wine, a hogshead of claret wine, a hogshead of Rhenish wine, a hogshead of Hamburg beer, a hogshead of Serbster beer. Whitelocke ordered the men that brought this present to be rewarded with ten rix-dollars. He desired the senators to return his hearty thanks to the Lords for the noble present which they sent him ; and after many compliments and ceremonies Whitelocke, giving the Senators the right hand, conducted them to their coach, and so they parted.

The English company entertained, with a great supper, Whitelocke and his company, who had more mind to sleep than to eat. Monsieur Hannibal Schestedt, late Viceroy of Norway, sent a gentleman to Whitelocke to know what time he would appoint for him to come and visit Whitelocke, who gave the usual answer, that whensoever he pleased to come he should be welcome.

June 11, 1654.

The Lord's Day.—The English company and the Resident Bradshaw desired Whitelocke that one of his chaplains might preach in the chapel belonging to the English in their house, which they said was a respect to the Ambassador of England ; and accordingly Mr. Ingelo preached in the morning, and a very pertinent and good sermon. The doctor, minister to the company here, preached in the afternoon, who far exceeded Mr. Ingelo in the strength of his voice and lungs, the which was not necessary for that chapel,

Divine
service at
Hamburg.

not being large, but convenient and handsomely made up with pews and seats fit for their company.

June 12, 1654.

Interview
with the
Swedish
Envoy to
the Em-
peror.

The Resident sent to the Governor to inform him that Whitelocke had a desire to see the fortifications of the town. He answered that he would send one of his lieutenants to wait on Whitelocke for that purpose; but Whitelocke and the Resident took this for no great compliment that himself came not to Whitelocke. Much company did Whitelocke the honour to dine with him; and after dinner Monsieur Bernelow, who was Ambassador from the Queen of Sweden to the Emperor, and was now upon his return home, came to visit Whitelocke, and they had this discourse in Latin.

Bernelow. I desire your Excellence to excuse me that I cannot express myself in French or Italian, but, with your leave, I desire to speak to you in Latin.

Whitelocke. Your Excellence is welcome to me; and if you choose to express yourself in Latin, you have your liberty, and I shall understand something of it.

Bern. When I heard of your Excellence's arrival in this city, though I purposed to have gone from hence, yet I deferred my journey, to the end I might see you, because I have heard in the Emperor's Court, as well by letters from her Most Serene Majesty of Sweden as from the Chancellor and other senators of that kingdom, what great satisfaction they had in the English Ambassador, etc. Now the league of friendship being concluded between the two nations, I hold myself obliged to make this salutation to your Excellence.

Wh. I have very many thanks to return to your Excellence for the honour you have done me by this visit, and for these expressions of affection and respect to the Protector, my master. I do acknowledge myself much engaged to the Ricks-Chancellor and senators of Sweden, and in the first place to her Majesty the Queen, for their favourable respect towards me whilst I was in my negotiation with them, whom I found full of honour, wisdom, and justice, in their transactions with me.

Bern. I have been for some time in the service of the Queen, my mistress, in Germany.

Wh. You met some of my countrymen in the Court of the Emperor, particularly a noble lord, whom I have the honour to know.

Bern. I met there the Earl of Rochester, who was at the Diet at Ratisbon.

Wh. What proposals did he make there?

Bern. He made a kind of precarious proposal in the name of the King, his master.

Wh. Did he obtain what he desired?

Bern. He did not much prevail in it, only he obtained a verbal promise of some money, but had no performance.

Wh. What occasion hath drawn your General Koningsmark with his forces at this time before Bremen?

Bern. It was thus by mistake occasioned. The Earl of Lüneburg had covenanted with the Spanish Ambassador to levy some soldiers for the service of the King of Spain, which levies he began without acquainting the Governor of that Circle with it, who taking this occasion, and bearing ill-will to the Earl, drew out some forces to oppose those levies. Koningsmark under-

standing this, and jealous that the Governor of the Circle designed to fall upon the fort of the Queen of Sweden in those parts, he drew out some forces to oppose the Governor. Those of Bremen, being informed that Koningsmark drew out his forces against them, sent some troops, who forced the Queen's subjects to a contribution and built a fort upon the Queen's land, which coming to the knowledge of Koningsmark, and that the Governor of the Circle of Westphalia intended only to suppress the levies of the Duke of Lüneburg, and not to oppose the Queen of Sweden, Koningsmark thereupon marched with his forces to the new fort built by those of Bremen, took it in and finished it, and left there a garrison for the Queen, not disturbing the trade of that city.

Wh. Here were mistakes one upon another, which might have engaged that city and the neighbours, as well as the Crown of Sweden, in a troublesome war.

Bern. All is now peaceable and well again.

They had much other discourse touching the right of the Crown of Sweden to the Duchy of Bremen; and after many compliments, the Ambassador took his leave.

Whitelocke
visits the
fortifica-
tions of
Hamburg.

About four o'clock in the afternoon the senator Holtz and an ancient gentleman, one of the captains of the town forces, came and accompanied Whitelocke, to show him the town and the fortifications of it, and said that the Lords had commanded them to do him this service. Whitelocke went out with them in his usual equipage, his gentlemen walking before the coach, his pages and lacqueys by it, all bareheaded, and with their swords. They viewed most parts of the city, the streets, buildings, public-houses, churches, the arsenal,

the fortifications, the ships, the waters, rivers, and what was remarkable throughout the town. Great multitudes of people, especially at their Exchange, came forth to see them as they passed by, and all were very civil to them. To the works a great many of people also followed them, and continued there with them.

They brought him first to see their arsenal, which is a large house; in the lower rooms thereof lay about two hundred pieces of ordnance mounted on good carriages, fitted and useful. They were not founded in this place, but brought from other parts; two of them were double cannon, each carrying a bullet of forty-eight pounds weight; most of the others were demi-cannon and culverin. There were besides these many smaller pieces and divers mortar-pieces, some of which were near as large in the diameter as that at Stockholm. In another place were many shells of grenades and heaps of cannon-bullets. The pavement of the room was all lead, two feet deep, in a readiness to make musket bullets if there should be occasion. In the rooms above were arms for horse and foot, completely fixed and kept; the greatest part of them were muskets. Between every division of the arms were representations in painting of soldiers doing their postures, and of some on horseback. Here were many cuirasses and a great quantity of corselets, swords, bandoliers, pistols, and bullets. Here likewise hung certain old targets, for monuments rather than use, and many engines of war; as, a screw to force open a gate, an instrument like a jack, with wheels to carry match for certain hours' space, and just at the set time to give fire to a mine, petard, or the like. There were, in all, arms for about fifteen hundred horse and

fifteen thousand foot. They keep a garrison constantly in pay of twelve hundred soldiers, and they have forty companies of their citizens, two hundred in each company, proper men ; whose interest of wives, children, estate, and all, make them the best magazine and defence (under God) for those comforts which are most dear to them.

Some pains were taken by Whitelocke to view their fortifications, which are large, of about two German (ten English) miles in compass ; they are very regular and well kept. Within the grafts are hedges of thorn, kept low and cut, held by them of better use than palisades. The bulwarks are of an extraordinary greatness ; upon every third bulwark is a house for the guards, and they are there placed. There is also a building of brick, a great way within the ground upon the bulwark, and separate by itself, where they keep all their gunpowder ; so that if by any mischance or wicked design it should blow up, yet it could do no hurt to the town, being so separated from it. On every bulwark there is space enough to draw up and muster a thousand men ; beyond the grafts are divers half-moons, very regularly made. The grafts are broad and deep, filled with the Elbe on the one side, and with another smaller river on the other side.

The works are stronger, larger, and more regular than those at Lübeck. Above the works is a piece of ground of above five hundred yards of low ground, gained by industry from the Elbe ; here they have mills to keep out or let in more or less water, as they find useful for the town and works. The lines of one side of the works are higher than on the other side, and the works better and stronger made. Here are

also mounds of earth raised very high to command without ; there wanted no pains nor expense to put together so great a mass of earth as is in these fortifications. Upon every bulwark is mounted one demi-cannon, besides other great guns ; in other places are smaller pieces. Round about the works are great store of ordnance, well fitted, mounted, and kept ; and the platforms are strong and well planked.

Having made a large tour through the greatest part of the city, Whitelocke found it to be pleasantly situated in a plain low country, fertile and delightful, also healthful and advantageous for trade ; and notwithstanding the great quantity of waters on every side of it, yet the inhabitants do not complain of agues or other sicknesses to be more rife among them than in other parts.

Upon one side is a small river, the which comes a great way down the country to this town, where it loseth itself in the Elbe, having first supplied the city with wood and other provisions brought down hither by boats, for which this river, though narrow, is deep enough and navigable. On the other side of the town is the stately river of Elbe, one of the chief of these parts of Germany, which also by boats brings down out of the country great store of all sorts of provisions and merchantable commodities ; and which is much more advantage to them, affords a passage for merchants hither, and from hence to vent their merchandises to all parts of the world. It is the best neighbour they have, and the branches and arms of it run through most of their streets by their doors, to the great advantage of their commerce ; and although sometimes, upon an extraordinary rising of the Elbe to a

great flood, these branches of it cover the lower rooms of the houses near them, to the damage of some owners, yet it makes amends by the constant benefit which it brings with it. The buildings here are all of brick, only some few of brick and timber put together, and are generally fashioned and used as is before described touching the Lübeck houses.

The district or territory belonging to the town is in some places two, in others three, in some more, German miles distant from the city, in which precinct they have the jurisdiction and revenue; and near the town are many pleasant little houses and seats, with gardens and accommodations, belonging to the citizens, to refresh themselves and their wives and children in the summer-time, to take the fresh country air, and to have a diversion for their health and pleasure. It may be said of this town, that God hath withheld nothing from them for their good. They have plenty of provisions, health, profit, and pleasure, to their full contentment, in a peaceable and just government, with freedom, strength in their magazines, fortifications, and bodies of men for their defence and protection, conveniences for their habitation and commerce, and, which is above all, a liberty to know the will of and to worship God, for the health of their own souls.

June 13, 1654.

The Diet of
Germany.

This morning Whitelocke returned a visit to the Swedes' Ambassador, Bernelow, at his lodging, where he learnt of him the manner of the sitting of the General Diet of Germany, at which he was present:— That they have three colleges or chambers: the first is

the College of the Electors, where they only assemble; the second is the College of the Princes, where the Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes, Graves, and Barons meet, to the number of about one hundred and forty; the third is the College of the Free Cities, where their Deputies, about two hundred, do meet. When they consult, the Chancellor of the Empire, the Archbishop of Mentz, sends the proposal in writing to each college severally. When they are respectively agreed, then all the colleges meet together in the great hall, at the upper end whereof is a chair of state for the Emperor. On the right-hand of the chair the Electors sit, on the left-hand the principal officers of the Emperor's court; on the right side of the hall, upon seats, are the Ecclesiastic Princes, Bishops, and Abbots; on the left-hand are the Temporal Princes, upon their seats; and on the seats below, one before another, are the Deputies of the towns.

The Archbishop of Mentz, as Marshal of the College of the Electors, begins and reads the proposal, and the resolution thereupon in writing of that college; after him, the Marshal of the College of the Princes doth the like; and lastly, the Marshal of the College of the Free Towns, who is always the chief magistrate of the place where the Diet sits. If the resolution of the three colleges agrees, or of the College of the Electors and one other of the colleges, the business is determined accordingly; if the colleges do not thus agree, then they meet all together and debate the matter; whereupon, if they come not to an accord, the business is remitted to another day, or the suffrage of the Emperor decides it.

Whitelocke asked him, whether the advice of the

Diet, being the supreme public council, were binding to the Emperor. He said, that the Emperor seldom did anything contrary to that advice, but held himself bound in prudence, if not in duty, to conform thereunto. Whitelocke asked him what opinion they had in the Emperor's court of the present King of Sweden. He answered, as was expected, and most true, that they have a great opinion of the King, especially for military affairs. Upon Whitelocke's invitation, he did him the honour to dine with him, and they had much and good discourse together.

Visit of M.
Woolfeldt's
brother-in-
law.

In the afternoon Whitelocke received a visit from Monsieur Hannibal Schestedt, whose wife was sister to Woolfeldt's lady, one of the daughters of the late King of Denmark by his second wife,—as they term it, his left-handed wife; this relation, and his own good parts, brought him in high esteem with the King, his brother-in-law, till by jealousies (particularly, as was said, in some matters of mistresses), distaste and disfavour was against him, and he was put out of his office of Viceroy of Norway, and other advantages; upon which he retired himself into these parts, and lived upon a pension of six thousand dollars yearly, allowed by the King unto his lady. Whitelocke found him a gentleman of excellent behaviour and abilities, which he had improved by his travels in most countries of Europe, and had gained perfectly the French, Italian, Dutch, English, and Latin tongues. His discourse was full of ingenuity and cheerfulness, and very free touching his own country and King, on whom he would somewhat reflect; and he spoke much of the Queen of Sweden's resignation, which he much condemned, and as much extolled the assuming of the

Government by the Protector of England, and said he had a design shortly to see England, and desired Whitelocke, that when he came into England he would move to the Protector to give him leave to come into England to serve the Protector, which he would willingly do, being forbid his own country ; but he prayed Whitelocke, that none might know of this his purpose but the Protector only. He told Whitelocke, that Williamson, the King of Denmark's Ambassador now in England, had been his servant, etc.

When Monsieur Schestedt was gone, Whitelocke wrote to Secretary Thurloe, and to his other friends in England, to give them an account of his being come thus far in his voyage homewards, and of the two frigates being arrived in the Elbe, that as soon as the wind would serve he would hasten for England.

The Resident invited Whitelocke and several Senators to a collation this evening, whither came the four Burgomasters, and five other Senators ; a thing unusual for so many of them to meet a foreign public minister, the custom being in such case to depute two or three of their body, and no more ; but they were willing to do more than ordinary honour to Whitelocke. And of these nine Senators every one spoke French or Latin, and some both, a thing rare enough for aldermen of a town ; but the reason of it was given, because here, for the most part, they choose into those places doctors and licentiates of the laws, which employments they willingly accept, being for life, attended with great authority, and a salary of a thousand crowns yearly, besides other profits. They had a banquet and store of wine ; and the Senators discoursed much with Whitelocke touching England, and the suc-

A banquet
to White-
locke.

cesses of the Parliament party, and the many thanksgivings for them; of which they had heard with admiration, and commended the return of thanks to God.

Upon this occasion, Whitelocke gave them an account of many particulars, and of God's goodness to them, and exhorted these gentlemen, in all their affairs, to put their trust in God, to be thankful for his mercies, and not to do anything contrary to his will. They asked how the Parliament could get money enough to pay their forces. Whitelocke told them that the people afforded money sufficient to defray the public charges both by sea and land; and that no soldiers were paid and disciplined, nor officers better rewarded, than those who have served the Parliament.

Whitelocke asked them concerning the religion professed among them, and of their government and trade, wherein they gave him good information; and he told them he hoped that the agreement made by this city with the merchants, his countrymen, would be carefully observed, and the privileges accorded to them be continued, which would be acceptable to the Protector. They answered, that they had been very careful, and should be so still, that on their part the agreement should be exactly observed. They desired Whitelocke to speak to the Protector in favour of a ship belonging to this town, in which were some moneys belonging to Hollanders, and taken by the English two years since. Whitelocke promised to move the Protector in it, and assured them that his Highness would cause right to be done to them.

At this collation Whitelocke ate very little, and drank only one glass of Spanish wine, and one glass of small beer, which was given him by a stranger,

whom he never saw before nor after, and the beer seemed at that instant to be of a very bad taste and colour; nor would he inquire what it was, his own servants being taken forth by the Resident's people in courtesy to entertain them.* After he came to his lodging he was taken very ill, and grew worse and worse, extreme sick, with pains like the strokes of daggers, which put him in mind of a former passage; and his torment was so great that it was scarcely to be endured, the most violent that he ever felt.

He was not well after his journey from Lübeck to Hamburg, having been extremely jolted in the coach in that way full of holes and sloughs, made by their great carriages in time of the war, and not yet amended: his weariness when he came to Hamburg reprieved his pain, which highly increased this evening; and the last of his ill beer still remained with him.

June 14, 1654.

The fierce torment continued on Whitelocke above thirteen hours together without intermission. About four o'clock this morning his secretary Earle was called to him, who waited on him with care and sadness to see his torment; nature helped, by vomits and otherwise, to give some ease, but the sharpness of his pain continued. About five o'clock this morning Dr. Whistler was called to him, who gave him several sorts of physic, and amongst the rest a drink with a powder and a great quantity of oil of sweet almonds, suspecting, by the manner of his sickness and some of

White-
locke's in-
disposition.

* [Another instance of the fear of assassination or of death by poison, which at that time haunted the Envoys of the Commonwealth abroad.]

the symptoms, that he might have had poison given him, which was the jealousy of most about him ; and whether it were so or not the Lord only knows, who nevertheless in his goodness preserved Whitelocke, and blessed the means for his recovery. The drink working contrary to what was intended, and turning to a vomit, the doctor, perceiving the operation of nature to be that way, followed by giving of vomits, which within two hours gave some ease and brought him to a little slumber, and in a few hours after to recovery. Thus it pleased God to exercise him, and to cast him down for a little time ; and when he had no expectation but of present death in a strange land, God was pleased suddenly, and above imagination, to restore and recover him ; the which, and all other the mercies of God, he prays may, by him and his, be thankfully remembered.

A doctor of physic, a Jew in this town, hearing of Whitelocke's being sick, came to his lodging, and meeting with Dr. Whistler, told him in Latin, that, understanding the English Ambassador to be dangerously sick, and to have no physician about him but a young inexperienced man, therefore this Jew came to offer his service. Dr. Whistler, smiling, told Whitelocke of this rencounter, who presently sent his thanks and discharge to the Jewish doctor. Several Senators came and sent to inquire of Whitelocke's health, and to know if he wanted anything in their power to supply him for his recovery, and offered the physicians of the town to wait upon him. He returned thanks, but kept himself to the advice and care of his own doctor, whose endeavours it pleased God to bless, so that in two days Whitelocke was abroad again.

The English Company had invited divers to bear Whitelocke company at dinner this day, where they had a very great feast, and present at it the four Burgomasters and ten Senators. So many of that number had scarce been seen at any former entertainment; which though purposely made to do Whitelocke honour, yet his sickness had brought him to an incapacity of bearing them company; but whilst they were at the table, Whitelocke sent his secretary to the Resident, praying him to make his apology to the Lords, that extremity of sickness the night before had prevented him of the honour of accompanying them at this meeting; that being now somewhat recovered, he sent now to present his hearty thanks to their lordships for this great favour they had done him, wished them all health, and entreated them to be cheerful. The Lords returned thanks to Whitelocke for his civility, and about an hour after the Resident came to Whitelocke from the Lords to see how he did, to thank him for his compliment, and to know if, without inconvenience, they might be admitted to come to his chamber to see him. Whitelocke said he should be glad to see them, but privately told the Resident that he hoped they would not stay long with him by reason of his indisposition.

Feast given
by the Eng-
lish Com-
pany.

The Senators sat at the table from twelve o'clock at noon till six o'clock in the evening, according to the fashion of Dutchland, and were very merry, wanting no good meat or wine, nor sparing it. About six o'clock they rose from dinner, and came to Whitelocke's chamber to visit him, with many compliments, expressing their sorrow for his sickness, their wishes for his health, and offers of anything in their power

which might contribute to his recovery. Whitelocke used them with all civility, and heartily thanked them for this extraordinary honour they had done him, by so many of their lordships affording him the favour of meeting at this place, and excused by his violent sickness his not bearing them company. After many compliments and a short stay they left his chamber, praying for the recovery of his health again.

Among this company of fourteen senators were no young men, but all grave and comely persons; and every one of them did particularly speak to Whitelocke, either in French or Latin, and some in both, which were hard to be met with in so many aldermen of towns in other countries. Divers of them staid in the English house till nine o'clock at night, making a very long repast of nine hours together; but it was to testify the more particular respect and honour to the English Ambassador, and is according to the usage of these parts, where, at such public entertainments, they eat and drink heartily, and seldom part in less than ten or twelve hours, cheerfully conversing together. Whitelocke took great contentment in the civility and respects of these and other gentlemen to him in this place, and in the affection, care, and attendance of his children, friends, and servants, about him in his sickness.

June 15, 1654.

The ecclesiastical state of Hamburg.

The Lords sent a gentleman to inquire of Whitelocke's health, with compliments as before. He took some physic, yet admitted visits and discourse, from which, and those he formerly had with Senators and others, he learned that as to matter of religion they

are here very strict to maintain a unity thereof, being of Plutarch's opinion, that "*varietas religionis, dissolutio religionis*;" and they permit no other religion to be publicly exercised by their own citizens among them but what in their government they do profess, which is according to the Augsburg confession; and Luther's opinions do wholly take place among them, insomuch that the exercise of religion in any other form or way is not admitted, except to the English Company of Merchants in the chapel of their house, and that by stipulation. Thus every one who differs from them in matters of religion must keep his opinion to himself, without occasioning any disturbance to the Government by practice or publication of such different opinion; and although many are inclined to the tenets of Calvin, yet their public profession is wholly Lutheran; answerable whereunto Whitelocke observed in their churches many images, crucifixes, and the like (not far removed from the practice of the Popish churches); particularly in their great church, which is fair and large, built with brick, are many images, rare tablets of painting, crucifixes, and a perspective of curious workmanship in colours. Their liturgy (as ours in England was) is extracted from the old Mass-book, and their divine service celebrated with much ceremony, music, and outward reverence. Their ministers are pensioners, but, as themselves affirm, liberally dealt with, and have bountiful allowances if they are holy men and good preachers; whereof they much satisfy themselves that they are very well provided in this city, to the comfort and blessing of the inhabitants.

Touching the trade of this place, Whitelocke learnt

The trade
of Ham-
burg.

that as they are very populous, so few are suffered in idleness, but employed in some way or other of trading, either as merchants, artificers, shopkeepers, or workmen. They have an exchange here, though not a fair one, where they daily meet and confer about their affairs and contracts.

The several branches and arms of the river Elbe, which pass along by their houses, afford them the better means and advantages for bringing in and carrying forth their commodities. There is a partition between the old and the new town; the old is but a small part of it, and few merchants reside there. The ships of greatest burden come up within two miles of the city; the lesser ships, whereof there be a great number, and the great boats, come up within the town to the very doors of their houses, by the branches of the Elbe, to the great advantage of their trading.

This city is much greater than Lübeck, fuller of trade and wealth, and better situated for commerce, being nearer to England, the Netherlands, France, Spain, and all the southern and western parts; and they are not to pass the Sound in coming home again. The staple of English cloth is here, and the cloths being brought hither for the most part white, it sets on work many hundreds of their people to dress and dye and fit them; and the inhabitants of all Germany and other countries do send and buy their cloth here. At this time of Whitelocke's being here, there lay in the Elbe four English ships which brought cloth hither; one of them carried twenty-five pieces of ordnance, the least fifteen, all of good force; and the English cloth at this time in them was estimated to be worth £200,000 sterling.

In consideration of this trade and the staple of English cloth settled here, which brings wealth to this city, the Government here hath granted great privileges to the English merchants residing in this place, and they are part of the company or corporation of Merchant Adventurers of England,—an ancient and honourable society, of which Whitelocke had the favour honorarily to be here admitted a member.

June 16, 1654.

Whitelocke, being, through the goodness of God, well recovered of his distemper, went abroad this day, and was shown the Town-house, which is a fair and handsome building, of the like fashion, but more large and beautiful, than that at Lübeck, and much better furnished. Here are many chambers for public councils and tribunals; some of them have their pillars covered with copper, and pavements of Italian marble; they have also rich hangings, and chairs of velvet, blue, and green, and rare pictures. The Chamber of Audience, as they call it, is the court of justice, where the Right-herrrs, who are in the nature of sheriffs, do sit to despatch and determine the causes of the citizens; and if the cause exceed the value of a hundred dollars, an appeal lies to the Senate, as it doth also in all causes criminal.

From the Senate there is no appeal in cases of obligations, letters of exchange, contracts, debts, and matters of merchandise, but therein a speedy remedy is given for the advantage of trade; but in all other cases, where the value exceeds a thousand dollars, and in all causes capital, an appeal lies to the Imperial Chamber: and in the judicatories of the city, the pro-

ceedings are according to the municipal laws and customs thereof, which nevertheless have great affinity with the Imperial civil laws, especially in the forms and manner of proceedings; and in cases where the municipal laws and customs are defective, there the proceedings are according to the civil law. They do not proceed by juries of twelve men to try the fact; but the parties contending are heard on both sides, either in person or by their advocates or proctors, as they please, and the witnesses on either side are examined upon oath; after which, the judges taking serious consideration of the whole matter and of all circumstances and proofs therein, at a set time they pronounce their sentence; and commonly the whole process and business is determined in the space of three weeks, except in cases where an appeal is brought. The judges sit in court usually twice in every week, unless in festival times, when they keep vacations, and with them their holidays are not juridical: their equal and speedy administration of justice is commended both by their own people and by strangers who have occasion to make trial of it.

Municipal
Govern-
ment of
Hamburg.

Their public government, by which their peace is preserved, disorders restrained, and men kept from being wolves to one another, makes them the more to flourish, and consists of four Consuls or Burgomasters and twenty other Senators, of whom twelve were called Overholts, and the other twelve Ricks-herrs. Upon the death or removal of any Senator, the choice of a new one is with the rest of the Senators. The choice of the Overholts is by the people, and they are as tribunes of the people; they have power to control the Senate through the supreme magistracy, but they do

it with all respect and tenderness, and no new law is made nor tax imposed without their consent. But the execution of the present laws, and the government of the people, and the last appeal in the city, is left unto the Senate; as also negotiations with foreigners, the entertainments and ceremonies with strangers, and generally the care of the safety of their State.

In cases of extraordinary concernment, as of war and peace, levying of money, making of new laws, and matters of extraordinary weight and consideration, of which the Senate are not willing to take the burden wholly upon themselves, or to undergo the envy or hazard of the consequences thereof; in such cases the Senate causeth the Overholt to be assembled, and, as the weight of the business may be, sometimes they cause to be summoned an assembly of the whole body of the burgesses of the city, before whom the business in the general is propounded, and they are desired by the Senate to make choice of some deputies, to be joined to the Senate and to assist them in the matters proposed. Then the whole body of the freemen do commonly make choice of eight, sometimes more and sometimes fewer, as they please, out of their own number, and these deputies have full power given to them by this assembly to despatch and determine, together with the Senate and the Overholt, their matters thus proposed to the general consideration of that public assembly; and what this Council thus constituted do resolve in these matters, the same is put in execution accordingly, obligeth, and is freely submitted unto by all the citizens, who look upon themselves by this their election of deputies to have their own consents involved in what their deputies determine.

In the evening Mr. Stetkin, with whom Whitelocke had been acquainted in England, when he was there, a servant of the late King for his private music, wherein he was excellent, came to Whitelocke, and with Maylard, one of Whitelocke's servants, made very good music for his diversion.

This day the wind came about reasonable good for Whitelocke's voyage, who thereupon ordered the captains away to their frigates and his people to prepare all things in readiness for his departure tomorrow ; his baggage was carried down and put on board the frigates. He gave his most hearty and solemn thanks to the Resident, and to all the gentlemen of the English Company of Merchants here, who had very nobly and affectionately entertained Whitelocke at their own charge all the time of his being in this city. He ordered his gratuities to be distributed among their servants and to all who had done any service or offices for him, both of the English house and of the townsmen, and ordered all things to be in readiness to proceed in his voyage.

June 17, 1654.

Whitelocke
takes leave
of the Senate.

The baggage and inferior servants of Whitelocke being gone down before unto the frigates, and the wind being indifferent good, Whitelocke resolved this day to set forwards in his voyage, and to endeavour, if he could, before night to reach the frigates, which did attend his coming in the Elbe about Glückstadt. The Resident had provided boats for Whitelocke and his company to go down unto the frigates, and had given notice to some of the Senators of Whitelocke's

intention to remove this day; whereupon Monsieur Müller, the chief Burgomaster of the town, came to Whitelocke's lodging in the morning to visit him and to inquire of his health, as one that bare a particular respect to him, and was now come to take his leave of him. He was a wise and sober man, and of good conversation, and testified much respect to the Protector and Commonwealth of England, and much honour to Whitelocke in particular. Whilst he was with Whitelocke, the two Senators who came first to Whitelocke to bid him welcome hither, came now also to him from the Senate, to bid him farewell. The elder of them spake to Whitelocke to this effect:—

“My Lord Ambassador,

“The Senate hath commanded us in their name to salute your Excellence, and to give you thanks for taking in good part the small testimonies of their respect towards you, which they are ashamed were no better, and entreat your pardon for it.

“They understand that your Excellence is upon your departure from this town, which gives them great cause of sadness, as they had of joy at your arrival here; but since it is your good pleasure, and your great affairs oblige you to depart, all that we can do is to pray to God for your safe arrival in your own country, and we doubt not but that the same God who hath hitherto preserved you in a long and perilous voyage, will continue his goodness to you in the remainder of your journey.

“We have a humble request to make to your Excellence, that you will give us leave to recommend our town to your patronage, and that you would be pleased to peruse these papers, which concern some of our citizens; and that your Excellence will be a means to my Lord Protector and to the Court of Admiralty, that justice and favour may be shown to them.”

As this gentleman spake of the testimonies of respect from this city to Whitelocke, he looked back to the table, upon which stood a piece of plate covered with sarsenet. A little after the Senator had done speaking, Whitelocke answered him to this purpose :—

“ Gentlemen,

“ I have cause to acknowledge that God hath been very good and gracious to me, and to all my company, throughout our whole voyage unto this place; for which we desire to bless His name, and hope that He will be pleased to continue His goodness to us in the rest of our journey. I desire you to return my hearty thanks to my Lords the Senators, who have honoured me with their very great respects during the whole time of my being with them, and have bestowed noble testimonies thereof upon me. I shall not fail to inform the Protector, my master, hereof, to whom, and to the Commonwealth of England, this respect is given in my person.

“ I have received much contentment in my being here, not only by the sight of so fair and flourishing a city as this is, so well fortified, and manned, and traded, and governed, but in your civilities, and the honour I have had to be acquainted with your worthy magistrates. And I have had a singular satisfaction to understand from my countrymen living amongst you that their privileges are by you entirely continued to them, which I recommend to you as a thing most acceptable to my Lord Protector, who takes care of the whole Commonwealth, and will expect that I give him an account of what concerns the English merchants and their commerce in this place. The wind being now good, I am obliged, according to the commands of the Protector, my master, forthwith to return for England, and do resolve this day to proceed in my voyage towards my ships. I hope my God will conduct me in safety to the place where I would be, and where I shall have the

opportunity to testify my gratitude to the Lords and people of this city, and to take care of those affairs wherein they may be concerned, which I esteem as an honour to me."

After Whitelocke had done speaking, the Senators, ^{Presents of the Senate.} with the accustomed ceremonies, took their leaves of him. The piece of plate which they now presented to him was a vessel of silver, like a little cabinet, wrought with bosses of beautiful figures, curious and rich, of the value, as some prized it, of about £150 sterling. Whitelocke was somewhat surprised with this present of plate, and doubtful whether he should accept it or not ; but considering that it was only a testimony of their respects to the Protector ; and as to Whitelocke, he was not capable of doing them service or prejudice, but as their affairs should deserve ; and if he should refuse this present, it would be ill taken by the Lords. Upon these considerations, and the advice of the Resident and other friends, Whitelocke took it, and returned his hearty thanks for it.

Another Senator, one Monsieur Samuel, hearing that Whitelocke had a little son at home, sent him a little horse for a present, the least that one hath seen, yet very handsome, and managed to the great saddle, which Whitelocke brought home with him ; so full of civility and courtesy were the magistrates of this place.

After much difficulty to get away, and the earnest request of the Resident and English merchants to the contrary, entreating him to stay longer, yet Whitelocke kept his resolution to leave the town ; and boats being in readiness, he went down to the water-side, accompanied with a great number of his countrymen and his own people, and took his boats to go down

the Elbe to his ships. The Resident and some others went in his boat with him. Vice-Admiral Clerke would not yet leave him, saying that Wrangel had commanded him to see Whitelocke on board the English frigates, either for a compliment or desiring to see the frigates, which were so much discoursed on in these parts, and thereby to be enabled to give an account to Wrangel of the dimensions and make of them, which he longed to know.

Whitelocke
embarks in
boats on
the Elbe,

The boat in which Whitelocke went was large, but not convenient, open, and went only with sails. The streets, as he passed to the water-side, and the windows, and on the bridges, were full of people to see him as he went, and gave him courteous salutations at his farewell. In his own boat he had six trumpets, which sounded all along as he passed through the city and the haven, which was then very full of ships, and they also very civil to make way for Whitelocke's boats. Upon the bridges and bulwarks which he went by were guards of soldiers in arms; and the bulwarks on that side saluted him with all their cannon, about twenty-one pieces, though they used not to give strangers above two or three guns. Thus Whitelocke parted from this city of Hamburg, recommending himself and his company to the blessing and protection of the Almighty.

A little below the city they came by a small village called by them *All to nah* (Altona), that is, "All too nigh," being the King of Denmark's territory, within half a league, which they thought too near their city. When they came a little lower, with a sudden strong blast of wind the boat in which Whitelocke was, was in great danger of being upset; after which it grew

to be a calm ; whereupon Whitelocke sent to the English cloth-ships, which lay a little below, to lend him some of their ship-boats and mariners with oars, to make better way than his boat with sails could do. This they did readily; and as Whitelocke passed by them, they all saluted him with their cannon.

Having changed their boats and discharged the great ones, they went more cheerfully down the river till they came within half a league of the town of Stadt; when being almost dark, and the mariners not accustomed to the river out of the channel, the boat in which Whitelocke was, struck upon the sand, and was fast there. Presently the English mariners, seven or eight of them, leaped out of the boat into the river, up to their chins, and by strength removed the boat from off the sands again; and they came to their oars again, within an English mile of Stadt, when it was very late, and the boats were two German miles from the frigates, and the tide turning. Whitelocke thought it impossible to reach his ships this night, and not prudent to proceed with unexperienced men upon this dangerous river by night; and understanding by General Potley, and one of the trumpets who had been formerly here, of a house upon the river that goes to Stadt, within a quarter of a mile of the place where they now were, Whitelocke ordered the mariners to make to that house, who, with much difficulty, found out the mouth of the river; but for want of water, being low tide, they had much trouble to get the boat up to the cruise, or in there. The master of the house had been a soldier and a cook; he prepared a supper for them of salt eels, salt salmon, and a little poultry, which was made better by the meat

but lands at
Stadt.

and wine that the Resident brought with him ; yet all little enough when the rest of Whitelocke's company, in three other boats, came to the same house, though they could not know of Whitelocke being there ; but he was very ill himself, and this was a bad quarter for him, who had been so lately very sick at Hamburg ; yet he contented himself without going to bed. His sons and company had some fresh straw, and God in his wonted mercy still preserved him and his company. The host sent word to his General, Koningsmark, that the English Ambassador was at his house this night.

June 18, 1654.

Embarks
in the
President.

Whitelocke resolved to remove from the cruise early this morning, and the rather because he was informed that Koningsmark intended to come hither this morning to visit him, which Whitelocke did not desire, in regard of the late accident at Bremen, where Koningsmark was governor, and that his conferring with him, upon his immediate return from Sweden, might give some jealousy to those of Bremen, or to the Hanse Towns, or some of the German Princes thereabouts. Whitelocke therefore held it best to take no notice of Koningsmark's intention to come and visit him, but to avoid that meeting by going early from hence this morning ; which he had the more reason to do because of his bad entertainment here, and for that the tide served betimes this morning to get out of this river. He therefore caused his people to make ready about two o'clock this morning, and took boat within an hour after, the weather being very fair and the country pleasant. On the right-hand

was Holstein, on the left-hand was the Duchy of Lüneburg, and below that the Bishopric of Bremen; in which this river comes from Stadt near unto Bremen, more considerable heretofore when it was the staple for the English cloth, but left by our merchants many years since, partly because they held themselves not well treated by the inhabitants of Stadt, and partly by the inconvenientness of this river to bring up their cloth to that town.

Two miles from this cruise Whitelocke came to the frigates, where they lay at anchor. He himself went on board the 'President,' who, at his entry, saluted him with above forty guns, the 'Elizabeth' but with twenty-one, and her Captain, Minnes, came on board to Whitelocke to excuse it, because, not knowing Whitelocke's time of coming hither, he had no more guns ready to bid him welcome.

Right against the frigates lay the fort and town Glückstadt. of Glückstadt, that is Luckystadt, or Lucky Town. Whitelocke being desirous to take a view of it and of the fortifications, and his baggage not being yet come to the frigates, he with the Resident and several others went over in one of the ship's boats to see it. The town is situate in a marsh, having no hill near to command it. The fortifications about it are old, yet in good repair. It belongs to the King of Denmark, as Duke of Holstein, and he keeps a garrison there at the mouth of a river running into the Elbe, like that of Stadt. The late King of Denmark built there a blockhouse in the great river upon piles, to the end he might command the ships passing that way, but the Elbe being there above a league in breadth, the ships may well pass notwithstanding that fort.

At Whitelocke's landing in the town, which is about a bow-shot from the mouth of the river, he sent to acquaint the Governor therewith, and that he desired only to see the town and then to return to his ships. The Governor sent a civil answer, that he was sorry he could not accompany Whitelocke, to show him the town, by reason of his being sick, but that he had sent one of his officers to show him the fortifications, and desired him to command anything in the town; for which civility Whitelocke returned thanks.

The town is not great nor well-built, but of brick, and some of the houses very fair; chiefly one which they call the King's house, which might fit an English knight to dwell in. The town seems decaying, and the fortifications also in some places. The late King designed to have made this a great town of trade, and by that means to have diminished, if not ruined, his neighbours the Hamburgers; to whom this King having done some injuries, and endeavouring to build a bridge over the Elbe near to Hamburg, to hinder the ships coming up thither, and their trade, the citizens pulled it down again, and came with about twenty vessels to Glückstadt upon a design against that town; but the King's ships of war being there, the Admiral of Hamburg cut his anchors and returned home in haste. The King's men got up the anchors, and at this time Whitelocke saw them hung up in their church as great trophies of a small victory thus easily gained. At Whitelocke's return, Glückstadt saluted him with three pieces of cannon.

When he was come back to his ships he found all his people and baggage come up to him, whereupon

he resolved to weigh anchor the first opportunity of wind serving, and gave orders accordingly to his captains. The Resident Bradshaw, Vice-Admiral Clerke, the treasurer and secretary of the English Company at Hamburg, who accompanied Whitelocke to his ships, now the tide serving, took their leaves of him, with much respect and wishes of a happy voyage to him; and so they parted.

The wind came to north-east, flat contrary to Whitelocke's course, and rose high, with violent storms and much rain, so that it was not possible for Whitelocke to weigh anchor and proceed in his voyage; but he had cause to thank God that he was in a safe and good harbour.

June 19, 1654.

The wind continued very tempestuous and contrary to Whitelocke's course, so that he could not budge, but lay still at anchor. The mariners, in their usual way of sporting, endeavoured to make him some pastime, to divert the tediousness of his stay and of the bad weather. He learned that at Glückstadt the Hamburgers pay a toll to the King of Denmark, who submit thereunto as other ships do, rather than enter into a contest or war with that King.

Whitelocke thought it becoming him in civility and gratitude to give an account by letters to the Queen of Sweden of his proceeding thus far in his voyage, for which purpose he had written his letters at Hamburg, and now having too much leisure, he made them up and sent them to Vice-Admiral Clerke to be presented to the Queen. The letters were to this effect :—

Whitelocke writes to the Queen of Sweden.

"A sa Sérénissime Majesté Christine, Reine de Suède.

"Madame,

"Les grandes faveurs que j'ai reçues de votre Majesté m'obligent à lui rendre compte de ce qui me touche, celui en qui vous avez beaucoup d'intérêt. Et puisque par votre faveur, sous Dieu, j'ai déjà surmonté les difficultés de la plus grande moitié du voyage que j'ai à faire par mer, j'ai pris la hardiesse d'entretenir votre Majesté de mon succès jusqu'en ce lieu. Le premier de Juin, le beau navire 'Amaranta' nous fit flotter sur la Baltique, et nonobstant les calmes, le vent contraire, et un terrible orage qui nous exercèrent, par l'adresse de l'Amiral Clerc, du Capitaine Sinclair (de l'honnêteté, respect, et soin desquels envers moi et ma suite, je suis redevable, comme de mille autres faveurs, à votre Majesté), comme par l'obéissance du navire à ses experts conducteurs, nous mêmes pied à terre à Tremon, le port de Lubec, Mercredi le 7 Juin. Samedi nous arrivâmes à Hambourg, où je suis à présent, dans la maison des Anglais. Ce matin j'ai pensé ne voir point le soir, ayant été travaillé d'un mal soudain, et tempête horrible qui m'a cuidé renverser dans ce port. Mais il a plu à Dieu me remettre en bonne mesure, ainsi j'espère que je ne serai empêché d'achever mon voyage. Je prie Dieu qu'il préserve votre Majesté, et qu'il me rende si heureux, qu'étant rendu en mon pays, j'aie l'opportunité selon mon petit pouvoir de témoigner en effet que je suis

"De votre Majesté

"Le très-humble et obéissant serviteur,

"Juin 14, 1654.

B. WHITELOCKE."

June 20, 1654.

Whitelocke
detained by
contrary
winds.

The wind continued in the same quarter as before, very high and contrary to Whitelocke's course, both the last night and this morning, which gave him and

his company much trouble; but they must submit to the time and good pleasure of God.

About five o'clock this morning (an unusual hour for visits) Mr. Schestedt came on board Whitelocke's ship from Glückstadt, whither he came the day before by land. They had much discourse together, wherein this gentleman is copious, most of it to the same effect as at his former visits at Hamburg. He told Whitelocke of the Lord Wentworth's being at Hamburg and his carriage there, and that he spake with respect towards the Protector and towards Whitelocke, but was full of wishes of ruin to the Protector's party. Whitelocke inquired of him touching the levies of soldiers by the Princes in the Lower Saxony now in action, with whom Mr. Schestedt was very conversant. He said that the present levies were no other than such as those Princes made the last year, and usually make every year for their own defence in case there should be any occasion, and that he knew of no design extraordinary. Whitelocke asked him several questions about this matter, that he might be able to give information thereof to the Protector; but either there was nothing, or this gentleman would discover nothing in it. He was entertained in Whitelocke's cabin at breakfast, where he fed and drank wine heartily, and at his going away Whitelocke gave him twenty-one guns, and ordered the 'Elizabeth' to give him nineteen, and sent him to shore in one of his ship-boats. The wind being very high, and not changing all this day, to the trouble of Whitelocke and hindrance of his voyage.

In the evening, a messenger from Monsieur Schestedt brought to Whitelocke these letters:—

“ Monseigneur,

“ Votre Excellence aura reçu, par un de ses serviteurs, un petit billet de moi partant de Glückstadt, sur ce qu’avions parlé, suppliant très-humblement votre Excellence d’en avoir soin sans aucun bruit. Et si la commodité de votre Excellence le permettra, je vous supplie de vouloir écrire un mot de lettre au Résident d’ici pour mieux jouir de sa bonne conversation sur ce qui concerne la correspondance avec votre Excellence ; et selon que votre Excellence m’aviserà je me gouvernerai exactement, me fiant entièrement à la générosité de votre Excellence, et m’obligeant en homme d’honneur de vivre et mourir,

“ Monseigneur, de votre Excellence

“ Très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur,

“ HANNIBAL SCHESTEDT.

“ 20 Juin, 1654.

“ Votre Excellence aura mille remerciemens de l’honneur reçu par ces canonades, et excusera pour ma disgrâce de n’avoir été répondu.”

To these letters Whitelocke sent this answer :—

“ Monseigneur,

“ Je n’ai rien par voie de retour que mes humbles remerciemens pour le grand honneur que vous m’avez fait, par vos très-agréables visites, tant à Hambourg qu’en ce lieu, comme aussi en m’envoyant ce noble gentilhomme qui m’a apporté les lettres de votre Excellence. Je ne manquerai pas, quand il plaira à Dieu me ramener en Angleterre, de contribuer tout ce qui sera en mon pouvoir pour votre service, et j’espère que l’issue en sera à votre contentement, et que dans peu de temps je saurai vous rendre bon compte de ce dont vous me faites mention en vos lettres. Ce petit témoignage du respect que je porte à votre Excellence, que je rendis à votre départ de mon vaisseau, et qu’il vous plaît honorer de votre estime, ne mérite pas que vous en teniez

aucun compte ; je serai joyeux de vous témoigner par meilleurs effets que je suis

“ De votre Excellence

“ Le très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur,

“ B. WHITELOCKE.

“ *A bord le Président, Rade de Glückstadt,*
20 Juin, 1654.”

Many other letters passed between them, not necessary for a recital.

June 21, 1654.

The wind continued in the same quarter as before, ^{Still detained by the wind.} very high, and contrary to Whitelocke's course. The English cloth-ships came down to him, desiring to be in his squadron homewards. Whitelocke knew no reason why his ships might not as well have fallen down lower in the river as these ; about which he consulted with the officers and pilot of his ship, who agreed that this morning, the wind being come a little more moderate, the ships might have fallen down with the tide, but that the time was now neglected ; which the officers excused because of the fog, which was so thick that they durst not adventure to go down the river. He resolved, upon this, to take the next opportunity, and went aboard the 'Elizabeth' to see his company there, who were well accommodated.

Here a petition was presented to Whitelocke from two mariners in hold for speaking desperate words,—that they would blow up the ship and all her company, and would cut the throat of the Protector, and of ten thousand of his party. One of them confessed, in his petition, that he was drunk when he spake these

words, and had no intention of the least harm to the ship, or to the Protector, or any of the State; both of them acknowledged their fault, and humbly asked pardon. After Whitelocke had examined them severally, and could get from them no confession of any plot against the Protector or State, but earnest asseverations of their innocences; yet having news of a plot in England against the Protector and Government, he held it not fit for him absolutely to release them; but, because he thought it only a business and words of drunkenness, he ordered them to be had out of the hold, but their Captain to see that they should be forthcoming at their arrival in England, that the Council, being acquainted herewith, might direct their pleasure concerning them.

About noon the wind began again to blow with great tempestuousness, and flat contrary to Whitelocke's course. In the evening a gentleman came aboard Whitelocke's ship, with letters from Monsieur Schestedt from Glückstadt to the same effect, and with compliments as formerly, to which Whitelocke returned a civil answer by the same messenger; and by him he also sent letters of compliment and thanks to the Resident Bradshaw, which likewise he prayed the Resident, in his name, to present to the English Company of Merchants at Hamburg, for their very great civilities and noble respects to Whitelocke while he was with them.

June 22, 1654.

A visit from
Count
Ranzen.

The wind continued contrary and extraordinary violent all the last night and this morning; and Whitelocke had cause to acknowledge the favour of God to

him, that during these rough storms he was in a good harbour and had not put out into the open sea.

Early in the morning a gentleman came from Glückstadt on board to Whitelocke, and told him that Grave Ranzau, the Governor of the Province of Holstein, had sent him to salute Whitelocke on his part, and to know when he might conveniently come to Whitelocke; who answered that he should be always ready to entertain his Excellence, but in regard the time was now so dangerous, he desired the Governor would not expose himself to the hazard for his sake.

About an hour after came another, in the habit of a military officer, from the Grave to Whitelocke, to excuse the Grave's not coming by reason of the very ill weather, and that no boat was to be gotten fit to bring the Grave from shore to Whitelocke's ship; but he said, that if Whitelocke pleased to send his ship-boats and mariners for the Governor, the wind being somewhat fallen, he would come and kiss his hand. Whitelocke answered in French to the gentleman, who spake Dutch, and was interpreted in French, that he was glad his Excellence was not in danger of the violent storms in coming on board to him this morning, but he should esteem it great honour to see the Governor in his ship, and that not only the boats and mariners, but all in the ship was at the service of his Excellence. The gentleman desired that one of the ship-boats and the ship-mariners might carry him back to land, and so bring the Governor from thence to Whitelocke, who commanded the same to be done. And about an hour after came the Grave Ranzau, a proper, comely person, habited as a soldier, about forty years of age; with him was another lord, governor

of another province, and three or four gentlemen, and other followers.

Whitelocke received them at the ship's side, and at his entry gave him nine guns. The Grave seemed doubtful to whom to make his application, Whitelocke being in a plain sea-gown of English grey baize ; but (as the Governor said afterwards) he knew him to be the Ambassador by seeing him with his hat on, and so many brave fellows about him bareheaded. After salutations, the Governor spake to Whitelocke to this effect :—

“ Monseigneur,

“ Le Roi de Danemarck, mon maître, m’a commandé de venir trouver votre Excellence, et de la saluer de sa part, et la faire la bienvenue en ses hâvres, et lui faire savoir que s’il y a quelque chose dans ce pays-là dont le gouvernement m’est confié par sa Majesté, qu’il est à son commandement. Sa Majesté aussi a un extreme désir de voir votre Excellence, et de vous entretenir en sa cour, désirant d’embrasser toutes les occasions par lesquelles il pourrait témoigner le respect qu’il porte à son Altesse Monseigneur le Protecteur.”

Whitelocke answered in French to this purpose :—

“ Monseigneur,

“ Je rends grâces à sa Majesté le Roi de Danemarck, du respect qu’il lui à plu témoigner à sa Sérénissime Altesse mon maître, et de l’honneur qu’il lui à plu faire à moi son serviteur, de quoi je ne manquerai pas d’informer son Altesse. Je suis aussi beaucoup obligé à votre Excellence pour l’honneur de votre visite, qu’il vous plaît me donner en ce lieu, et principalement en un temps si fâcheux. J’eusse aussi grande envie de baiser les mains de sa Majesté et de voir sa cour, n’eût été que son Altesse a envoyé des navires exprès pour m’emporter d’ici en Angleterre, et que j’ai ouï dire que le Roi a remué sa cour de Copenhague ailleurs, à cause de la peste. Je suis très-joyeux d’entendre

de la santé de sa Majesté, auquel je souhaite toute sorte de bonheur."

After many compliments, Whitelocke gave him precedence into his cabin ; and after some discourse there, a servant of the Agent of Holland was brought in to Whitelocke, who said his master desired Whitelocke to appoint a time when the Agent might come on board him to salute Whitelocke and to kiss his hand. He answered that, at any hour when his master pleased to do Whitelocke that honour, he should be welcome, and that some noble persons being now with him, who, he hoped, would do him the favour to take part of a sea-dinner with him, that if it would please the Agent to do him the same favour, and to keep these honourable persons company, it would be the greater obligation unto Whitelocke. The Grave, hearing this, began to excuse himself, that he could not stay dinner with Whitelocke, but, upon entreaty, he was prevailed with to stay.

Visit from
the Dutch
Agent.

About noon the Dutch Agent came in one of Whitelocke's boats on board his ship, whom he received at the ship's side, and saluted with seven guns at his entry. The Agent spake to Whitelocke to this purpose:—"That, passing by Glückstadt towards Hamburg, he was informed of Whitelocke's being in this place, and thereupon held it his duty, and agreeable to the will of his Lords, not to proceed in his journey without first giving a visit to Whitelocke to testify the respect of his superiors to the Protector and Commonwealth of England, as also to Whitelocke in particular." Whitelocke returned thanks to the Agent for the respect which he testified to the Protector, and for the honour done to Whitelocke, and that it would be acceptable so the

Protector to hear of this respect from my Lords the States to him, whereof he should not fail to inform his Highness when he should have the opportunity to be near him.

Entertain-
ment of
Count
Ranzau.

The Grave went first into Whitelocke's cabin, after him the Agent, and then Whitelocke, who gave these guests a plentiful dinner on ship-board. The Grave desired that Whitelocke's sons might be called in to dine with them, which was done, and Whitelocke asked the Grave if he would have any of his company to dine with him. He desired one of the gentlemen, who was admitted accordingly.

They were served with the States' plate, which Whitelocke had caused to be taken forth on this occasion ; and the strangers would often take up the plates and dishes to look on them, wondering to see so many great and massy pieces of silver plate as there were. They drank no healths, the Grave telling Whitelocke he had heard it was against his judgement, and therefore he did forbear to begin any healths, for which civility Whitelocke thanked him ; and they had no want of good wine and meat, and such as scarce had been seen before on ship-board. They discoursed of the affairs in Sweden, and of the happy peace between England and Denmark, and the like. Monsieur De la Marche gave thanks in French, because they all understood it.

After dinner Whitelocke took out his tobacco-box, which the Grave looked upon, being gold, and his arms, the three falcons, engraven on it ; whereupon he asked Whitelocke if he loved hawks, who said he was a falconer by inheritance, as his coat of arms testified. The Grave said that he would send him some hawks the

next winter out of his master's dominions of Iceland, where the best in the world were bred, which he nobly performed afterwards.

The Grave earnestly invited Whitelocke to go on shore with him to his house, which was within two leagues of Glückstadt, where he should meet Monsieur Schestedt and his lady, and the next day he would bring Whitelocke to the King, who much desired to see him; and the Grave offered to bring Whitelocke back again in his coach to Glückstadt. Whitelocke desired to be excused by reason of his voyage, and an order of his country that those who had the command of any of the State's ships were not to lie out of them until they brought them home again; otherwise Whitelocke said he had a great desire to kiss his Majesty's hand and to wait upon his Excellence and the noble company at his house; and he desired that his humble thanks and excuse might be made to the King. The Grave replied that Whitelocke, being an Extraordinary Ambassador, was not within the order concerning commanders of the State's ships, but he might be absent and leave the charge of the ships to the inferior officers. Whitelocke said that as Ambassador he had the honour to command those ships, and so was within the order, and was commanded by his Highness to return forthwith to England; that if, in his absence, the wind and weather should come fair, or any harm should come to any of the ships, he should be answerable for neglecting of his trust. Whitelocke also was unwilling, though he must not express the same, to put himself under the trouble and temptations which he might meet with in such a journey, and to neglect the least opportunity of proceeding in his voyage homewards.

The Grave, seeing Whitelocke not to be persuaded, hasted away; and after compliments and ceremonies passed with great civility, he and the Agent and their company went into one of Whitelocke's ship-boats, with a crew of his men and his Lieutenant to attend them. At their going off, by Whitelocke's order only one gun was fired, and a good while after the 'President' fired all her guns round, the 'Elizabeth,' according to custom, did the like; so that there was a continual firing of great guns during the whole time of their passage from the ship unto the shore—almost a hundred guns, and the fort answered them with all the guns they had.

At the Lieutenant's return he told Whitelocke that the Grave, when he heard but one gun fired for a good while together, began to be highly offended, saying that his master, the King, was slighted and himself dishonoured, to be sent away with one gun only fired, and he wondered the Ambassador carried it in such a manner; but afterwards, when the rest of the guns went off, the Grave said he would tell the King how highly the English Ambassador had honoured his Majesty and his servant by the most magnificent entertainment that ever was made on ship-board, and by the number of guns at his going away, and that this was the greatest honour he ever received, with much to the like purpose; and he gave to the Lieutenant for his pains two pieces of plate of silver gilt, and ten rix-dollars to the boat's company, and twenty rix-dollars more to the ship's company.

June 23, 1654.

This was the seventh day that Whitelocke had lain

on the Elbe, which was tedious to him; and now, fresh provisions failing, he sent Captain Crispe to Glückstadt to buy more, whose diligence and discretion carried him through his employments to the contentment of his master. He brought good provisions at cheap rates.

Whitelocke agrees to convoy four English cloth ships.

The four captains of the English cloth-ships came on board Whitelocke to visit him; they were sober, experienced sea commanders; their ships lay at anchor close to Whitelocke. After dinner they told Whitelocke that if their ships had been three leagues lower down the river, they could not have anchored in this bad weather without extreme danger, the sea being there much higher, and the tide so strong that their cables would not have held their ships; and that if they had been at sea in this weather, they had been in imminent peril of shipwreck, and could not have returned into the river, nor have put into the Weser nor any other harbour. Whitelocke said that they and he were the more bound to God, who had so ordered their affairs as to keep them, during all the storms wherein they had been, in a safe and good harbour; he wished them, in this and all their voyages, to place their confidence in God, who would be the same God to them as now, and in all their affairs of this life.

The captains desired Whitelocke's leave to carry their streamers and colours, and to be received by him as part of his fleet in their voyage for England, and they would acknowledge him for their Admiral. Whitelocke told them he should be glad of their company in his voyage, and would willingly admit them as part of his small fleet, but he would expect their observance of his orders; and if there should be oc-

casion, that they must join with him in fight against any enemies of the Commonwealth whom they should meet with, which they promised to do; and Whitelocke mentioned it to the captains, because he had received intelligence of a ship laden with arms coming out of the Weser for Scotland, with a strong convoy, with whom Whitelocke resolved to try his strength, if he could meet him.

In the afternoon two merchants of the cloth-ships came to visit Whitelocke, and showed great respect to him; and they and the captains returned together to their ships, the wind being allayed, and come about to the south, which gave Whitelocke hopes to proceed in his voyage.

June 24, 1654.

The convoy
sails to
Rose
Beacon.

The wind being come to west-south-west, a little fallen, about three o'clock in the morning they began to weigh anchor. By Whitelocke's command, all the ships were to observe this order in their sailing. Every morning each ship was to come up and fall by Whitelocke, and salute him, that he might inquire how they all did; then they were to fall astern again, Whitelocke to be in the van, and the 'Elizabeth' in the rear, and the other ships in the middle between them; all to carry their colours; Whitelocke to carry his in the maintop, and all to take their orders from his ship.

Thus they did this morning; the cloth-ships came all by Whitelocke, and saluted him the first with nine guns. Whitelocke answered her with as many. Then she gave three guns more, to thank him for his salutation. Each of the other ships gave seven guns

at their passing by ; then the fort of Glückstadt discharged all their ordnance to give Whitelocke the farewell, who then fired twenty-one guns, and the ' Elizabeth ' nineteen ; then the cloth-ships fired three guns apiece, as thanks for their salutation ; and so, with their sails spread, they committed themselves to the protection of the Almighty. Though these things may be looked upon by some as trivial and expensive, yet those who go to sea will find them useful and of consequence, both to keep up and cheer the spirits of the seamen, who will not be pleased without them, and to give an honour to one's country among strangers who are taken with them ; and it is become a kind of sea language and ceremony, and teacheth them also the better to speak it in battle.

Some emulation happened between the captain of the ' President ' and Minnes, because Whitelocke went not with him, but in the other's ship, which Whitelocke would have avoided, but that he apprehended the ' President ' sent purposely for him.

Between seven and eight o'clock in the morning Whitelocke passed by a village called Brown Bottle, belonging to the King of Denmark, upon the river in Holstein, four leagues from Glückstadt ; and four leagues from thence he passed by a village on the other side of the Elbe, which they told him was called Oldenburg, and belonged to the Duke of Saxony. Two leagues below that, he came to anchor over against a village called Rose Beacon, a fair beacon standing by the water-side. It belongs to Hamburg ; and by a late accident of a soldier's discharging his musket, it set a house on fire, and burnt half the town. Some of Whitelocke's people went on shore,

and reported it to be a poor place, and no provisions to be had there.

The road here is well defended by a compass of land on the south and west, but to the north and east it lies open. The sea there is wide, but full of high sands. The river is so shallow in some places that there was scarce three fathom water where he passed between Brown Bottle and Oldenburg, where his ship struck upon the sand, and made foul water, to the imminent danger of him and all his people, had not the Lord in mercy kept them. They were forced presently to tack back, and seek for deeper water. The pilot confessed this to happen because they lay too far to gain the wind, which brought them upon the shallow. Whitelocke came to Rose Beacon before noon, which is not very safe if the wind be high, as now it was; yet much safer than to be out in the open sea, whither the pilot durst not venture, the wind rising and being contrary to them.

June 25, 1654.

The Lord's Day.—Mr. Ingelo, Whitelocke's chaplain, preached in his ship in the morning. Mr. De la Marche, his other chaplain, was sick of a dysentery, which he fell into by drinking too much milk on shore. Mr. Knowles, a confident young man, the ship's minister, preached in the afternoon.

The cloth
ships re-
turn to
Glückstadt.

The wind blew very strong and contrary all the last night and this morning, which made it troublesome riding in this place; insomuch that the four cloth-ships, doubting the continuance of this tempestuous weather, and fearing the danger that their

cables would not hold, which failing would endanger all, and not being well furnished with provisions, they weighed anchor this morning flood, and sailed back again to Glückstadt road; whereof they sent notice to Whitelocke, desiring his excuse for what their safety forced them to do. But Whitelocke thought it not requisite to follow their example, men of war having better cables than merchantmen; and being better able to endure the stress of weather, and he being better furnished with provisions, he resolved to try it out in this place.

In the afternoon the wind was somewhat appeased and blew west-south-west. A messenger came on board Whitelocke, and informed him that Grave Ranzau had sent a noble present—a boat full of fresh provisions—to Whitelocke; but by reason of the violent storms, and Whitelocke being gone from Glückstadt, the boat could not come at him, but was forced to return back, and so Whitelocke lost his present. The letters mentioning this were delivered to Whitelocke by this messenger, and were these:—

A present
from Count
Ranzau.

"A son Excellence Monsieur Whitelocke, Ambassadeur Extraordinaire d'Angleterre vers sa Majesté la Reine de Suède.

"Monseigneur,

"Nous croyons être obligés de faire connaître à votre Excellence que Monseigneur le Comte de Ranzau, notre maître, nous avait donné commission de venir très-humblement baiser les mains de votre Excellence, et lui faire présenter quelques cerfs, sangliers, lièvres, perdrix, et quantité de carpes; la supplier de s'en rafraîchir un peu, pendant que l'opiniâtreté d'un vent contraire lui empêcherait une meilleure commodité, et d'assurer votre Excellence, de la part de Monseigneur le Comte, qu'il souhaite avec passion

de pouvoir témoigner à votre Excellence combien il désire les occasions pour lui rendre très-humbles services, et contracter avec elle une amitié plus étroite; et comme son Excellence s'en allait trouver le Roi, son maître, qu'il ne laisserait point de dire à sa Majesté les civilités que votre Excellence lui avait faites, et que sa Majesté épouserait sans doute ses intérêts, pour l'assister de s'acquitter de son devoir avec plus de vigueur, lorsque la fortune lui en fournirait quelque ample matière.

"Mais, Monseigneur, nous avons été si malheureux d'arriver à Glückstadt cinq ou six heures après que votre Excellence avait fait voile et était descendu vers la mer; toutefois avons-nous pris vite un vaisseau pour suivre, et n'étions guères loin du hâvre où l'on disait que votre Excellence était contrainte d'attendre un vent encore plus favorable, quand notre vaisseau, n'étant point chargé, fut tellement battu par une grande tempête, que nous étions obligés de nous en retourner sans pouvoir exécuter les ordres de Monseigneur le Comte, notre maître, dont nous avons un déplaisir incroyable. Votre Excellence a une bonté et générosité très-parfaite; c'est pourquoi nous la supplions très-humblement, d'imputer plutôt à notre malheur qu'à la volonté de Monseigneur le Comte, le mauvais succès de cette notre entreprise; aussi bien la lettre ici enfermée de son Excellence Monseigneur le Comte donnera plus de croyance à nos paroles.

"Nous demandons très-humblement pardon à votre Excellence de la longueur de celle-ci, et espérons quelque rencontre plus heureuse pour lui témoigner de meilleure grâce que nous sommes passionément,

"Monseigneur, de votre Excellence

"Très-humbles et très-obéissans serviteurs,

"FRANÇOIS LOUIS VAN DE WIELE.

"BALTH. BORNE."

The enclosed letter from the Count, which they mentioned, was this :—

"Illustri et nobilissimo Domino Bulstrodo Whitelocke, Constabulario Castri de Windsor, et Domino Custodi Magni Sigilli Reipublicæ Angliæ, adque Serenissimam Reginam Sueciæ Legato Extraordinario; amico meo plurimum honorando.

"Illustris et nobilissime Domine Legate, amice plurimum honorande,

"Quod Excellentia vestra me hesterno die tam magnificè et lautè exceperit, id ut pro singulari agnosco beneficio; ita ingentes Excellentiæ vestræ ago gratias, et nihil magis in votis habeo quam ut occasio mihi offeratur, quâ benevolentiam hanc aliquando debitè resarcire possim.

"Cum itaque videam ventum adhuc esse contrarium, adeo ut Excellentia vestra anchoram solvere versusque patriam vela vertere necdum possit; partium mearum duxi aliquo modo gratum meum ostendere animum et præsentem ad Excellentiam vestram ablegare, simulque aliquid carnis, farinæ, et piscium, prout festinatio temporis admittere potuit, offerre, Excellentiam vestram obnixè rogans ut oblatum æqui bonique consulere dignetur. Et quamvis ex animo Excellentiæ vestræ ventum secundum, et ad iter omnia prospera exoptem, nihilo tamen minus, si forte fortuna in hisce locis vicinis diutius adhuc subsistere cogatur, ministris meis injungam, ut Excellentiæ vestræ in absentia mea (quoniam in procinctu sum me crastino mane ad regiam Majestatem dominum meum clementissimum conferre) ulterius inservire, et quicquid occasio obtulerit subministrare debeant. De cætero nos Divinæ commendo protectioni, et Excellentiæ vestræ filios dilectissimos meo nomine salutare obnixè rogo.

"Dabam in arce mea Breitenburos, 23 Junii, anno 1654.

"Excellentiæ vestræ

"Observantissimus totusque addictus,

"CHRISTIANUS, Comes in Ranzau."

Whitelocke did the rather insert these letters, to testify the abilities of the gentlemen servants to this

Grave, as also the grateful affection of their master towards him, a stranger to them, upon one meal's entertainment and acquaintance.

About six o'clock at night Mr. Smith, son to Alderman Smith, of London, and two other young merchants of the English company at Hamburg, came on board to Whitelocke, and brought letters to him from the Resident Bradshaw, with those the Resident received by this week's post from London; wherein was little news, and no letters came to Whitelocke, because (as he supposed) his friends believed him to be upon the sea. Whitelocke wrote letters of thanks to the Resident, and enclosed in them letters of compliment to the Ricks-Chancellor, and to his son Grave Eric of Sweden, and to Sir George Fleetwood and others, his friends, and entreated the Resident to send them into Sweden.

June 26, 1654.

Whitelocke
weighs
anchor.

The wind not being so high the last night nor this morning as formerly, but the weather promising fair, and Whitelocke longing to advance in his voyage, he weighed anchor about break of day, the 'Elizabeth' did the like, and they were under sail about four o'clock this morning. As they came out from Rose Beacon, they told above thirty fisher-boats at sea, testifying the industriousness of this people.

About two leagues from Rose Beacon they passed in sight of another beacon, and of a village which they call Newworke, in which is a small castle like unto that at Rose Beacon. Here the sea began to expatiate, and about three leagues from hence was the

lowest buoy of the river. And now Whitelocke was got forth into the open German Ocean, a sea wide and large, oft-times highly rough and boisterous and full of danger, especially in these parts of it, and as Whitelocke shortly found it to be. Suddenly the wind grew high and the sea swelled, and they were fain to take in their topsails; the ship rolled and tossed sufficiently to make the younger seamen sick, and all fearful.

From this place they might see an island on the starboard side of them, called Heligoland, standing a great way into the sea, twelve leagues from Rose Beacon; the island is about six miles in compass. The inhabitants have a language, habit, and laws, different from their neighbours, and are said to have many witches among them; their shores are found very dangerous, and many ships wrecked upon them.

About noon the wind came more to the west, and sometimes it was calm; nevertheless the sea wrought high, the waves raised by the former storms not abating a long while after the storm ceased. When they were gone about two leagues beyond Heligoland, the wind and tide turning against them, they were driven back again near two leagues short of the island; but about four o'clock in the afternoon, the wind being come to south-south-east and a fresh gale, they went on well in their course, running about eight leagues in a watch. Before it was night they had left Heligoland out of sight, and got about eight leagues beyond it; and the 'Elizabeth' kept up with Whitelocke.

From hence he came in sight of divers small islands upon the Dutch coast, which lie in rank from the mouth of the Elbe unto the Texel. In the evening

they spied a sail to the leeward of them, but so far off that Whitelocke held it not fit, being almost dark, to go so far as he must do out of his way to inquire after her, and she seemed, at that distance, to stand for the course of England.

June 27, 1654.

At sea. The last night, the wind, having chopped about, had much hindered Whitelocke's course, and made him uncertain where they were, yet he went on labouring in the main; but the seamen guessed, by the ship's making way and holding it (though sometimes forward and sometimes backward), that this morning by eight o'clock they had gained thirty leagues from Heligoland, from which to Orfordness they reckon eighty leagues, and the "Fly" to be midway. The ship, which they saw last night, coming near them this morning, they found to be of Amsterdam, coming from the Sound homewards: she struck her sails to Whitelocke, and so passed on her course.

About noon Whitelocke came over-against the Fly, and saw the tower there, about five or six leagues from him. The wind lessened, and the sea did not go so high as before; he went on his course about four or five leagues in a watch. About seven or eight Holland ships made their course by them, as was supposed, towards the Sound, which now they did without fear or danger, the peace between the two Commonwealths being confirmed.

Whitelocke's fresh provisions beginning to fail, and his biscuit lessened by affording part of it to the 'Elizabeth,' which wanted, he was enforced to order that

there should be but one meal a day, to make his provisions hold out.

The most part of the afternoon they were taken with a calm, till about seven o'clock in the evening, when the wind came fresh again to the east and towards the north, and then would again change; and sometimes they kept their course, and sometimes they were driven back again. The wind was high and variable, and they toiled to and again, uncertain where they were. Divers took the opportunity to recreate themselves by fishing, and the mackerel and other fish they took gave a little supply to their want of victual. About nine o'clock in the evening they lost the 'Elizabeth,' leaving her behind about three leagues; she used to keep a distance from Whitelocke's ship, and under the wind of her, since they began their voyage; and, as a stranger, would not keep company with Whitelocke, being discontented because he went not in that frigate.

June 28, 1654.

This Wednesday was the day of Whitelocke's greatest deliverance. After midnight, till three o'clock in the afternoon, was a great calm, and though the 'President' were taken with it, yet the 'Elizabeth' had a good wind; and notwithstanding that the day before she was left behind a great distance, yet this morning she came up near to him, and got before him; so great is the difference sometimes, and at so small a distance, at sea, that here one ship shall have no wind at all, and another ship a few yards from her shall have her sails filled. Notwithstanding the calm, yet the wind being by flashes large, they went the last

White-
locke's
great deli-
verance.

night and the day before twenty leagues up and down, sometimes in their course and sometimes out of it. In the morning, sounding with the plummet, the pilot judged that they were about sixteen leagues from the Texel, and twenty-four from Orfordness, but he did not certainly know whereabouts they were. Between three and four o'clock in the afternoon the wind came to north-north-west, which gave them hopes of finishing their voyage the sooner, and it blew a fresh gale.

About five o'clock in the evening rose a very great fog and thick mist, so that it was exceeding dark, and they could not see their way a ship's length before them. Whitelocke came upon the decks, and seeing the weather so bad and night coming on, and that all their sails were spread, and they ran extraordinary fast, he did not like it, but called together the captain, the master, the pilot, and others, to consult what was best to be done. He asked them why they spread all their sails, and desired to make so much way in so ill weather, and so near to night. They said they had so much sail because the wind favoured them, and that notwithstanding the bad weather they might safely run as they did, having sea-room enough. Whitelocke asked them if they knew whereabouts they were. They confessed they did not, because they had been so much tossed up and down by contrary winds, and the sun had not shined, whereby they might take the elevation. Whitelocke replied, that, having been driven forward and backward as they had been, it was impossible to know where they were; that the ship had run, and did now run, extraordinary fast, and if she should run so all night, perhaps they might be in danger of the English coast or of the Holland coast;

and that by Norfolk there were great banks of sand, by which he had passed at sea formerly, and which could not be unknown to them; that in case the ship should fall upon those sands, or any other dangers of that coast, before morning, they should be all lost; and therefore he thought fit to take down some of their sails and slacken their course till, by daylight, they might come to know more certainly in what part they were.

The officers of the ship continued earnest to hold on their course, saying they would warrant it that there was running enough for all night, and that to take down any sail, now the wind was so good for them, would be a great wrong to them in their course. But Whitelocke was little satisfied with their reasons, and less with their warranties, which among them are not of binding force. His own reason showed him, that, not knowing where they were, and in such weather as this to run on as they did, they knew not whither, with all their sails spread, might be dangerous; but to take down some of their sails and to slacken their course could be no danger, and but little prejudice in the hindrance of their course this night, which he thought better to be borne than to endanger all.

But chiefly it was the goodness of God to put it strongly upon Whitelocke's heart to overrule the sea-
He orders
sail to be
taken in.
men in this particular, though in their own art, and though his own desires were sufficiently earnest to hasten to his dear relations and country; yet the present haste he feared might hinder the seeing of them at all. Upon a strange earnestness in his own mind and judgement, he gave a positive command to the captain to cause all the sails to be taken down except

the mainsail only, and that to be half-furled. Upon the captain's dispute, Whitelocke with quickness told him that if he did not presently see it done he would cause another to do it, whereupon the captain obeyed; and it was a great mercy that the same was done, which God directed as a means to save their lives.

The ship
strikes.

After the sails were taken down, Whitelocke also ordered them to sound and try what water and bottom they had. About ten o'clock in the evening sounding, they found eighteen fathom water; the next sounding they had but fifteen fathom, and so lessened every sounding till they came to eight fathom, which startled them, and made them endeavour to tack about. But it was too late, for within less than a quarter of an hour after they had eighteen fathom water, the ship struck upon a bank of sand, and there stuck fast. Whitelocke was sitting with some of the gentlemen in the steerage-room when this happened, and felt a strange motion of the frigate, as if she had leaped, and not unlike the curveting of a great horse; and the violence of the striking threw several of the gentlemen from off their seats into the midst of the room. The condition they were in was quickly understood, and both seamen and landsmen discovered it by the wonderful terror and amazement which had seized on them, and more upon the seamen than others who knew less of the danger.

It pleased his good God to keep up the spirits and faith of Whitelocke in this great extremity; and when nothing would be done but what he in person ordered, in this frightful confusion God gave him extraordinary fixedness and assistance, a temper and constancy of spirit beyond what was usual with him. He ordered

the master-gunner presently to fire some pieces of ordnance, after the custom at sea, to signify their being in distress. But the gunner was so amazed with the danger, that he forgot to unbrace the guns, and shot away the main-sheet ; and had not the ship been strong and staunch, the guns being fired when they were close braced, they had broke the sides of her. Whitelocke caused the guns to be unbraced and divers of them fired, to give notice to the 'Elizabeth,' or any other ship that might be within hearing, to come in to their assistance ; but they heard no guns again to answer theirs, though they longed for it, hoping that the 'Elizabeth,' or any other ship coming in to them, by their boats might save the lives of some of them. Whitelocke also caused lights to be set up in the top-gallant, used at sea by those in distress to invite help ; but the lights were not answered again by any other ship or vessel ; particularly they wondered that nothing was heard or seen from the 'Elizabeth.'

Whitelocke then ordered the sails of the ship to be reversed, that the wind, being high, might so help them off ; but no help was by it, nor by all the people's coming together to the stern, then to the head, then to the sides of the ship, all in a heap together ; nothing would help them. Then Whitelocke ordered the mariners to hoist out one of the boats, in which some of the company would have persuaded Whitelocke to put himself and to leave the rest, and seek to preserve his own life by trusting to the seas in this boat ; and they that advised this, offered willingly to go with him.

But Whitelocke knew that if he should go into the boat, besides the dishonour of leaving his people in this distress, so many would strive to enter into the

boat with him (a life knows no ceremony) that probably the boat would be sunk by the crowding ; and there was little hope of escaping in such a boat, though he should get well off from the ship and the boat not be overladen. He therefore ordered the captain to take a few of the seamen into the boat with him, and to go round the ship and sound what water was on each side of her, and what hopes they could find, and by what means to get her off, himself resolving to abide the same fortune with his followers.

The captain found it very shallow to windward, and very deep to leeward, but no hopes of help ; and at his return the master advised to lighten the ship by casting overboard the goods in her. Whitelocke held it best to begin with the ordnance, and gave order for it. Mr. Earle was contriving how to save his master's jewels, which were of some value ; his master took more care to save his papers, to him more precious jewels ; but there was no hope of saving any goods or lives. Whitelocke put in his pocket a tablet of gold of his wife's picture, that this, being found about his dead body when it should be taken up, might show him to have been a gentleman, and satisfy for his burial. One was designing to get upon a plank, others upon the masts, others upon other fancies, any way to preserve life ; but no way was left whereby they could have the least shadow or hopes of a deliverance.

The captain went up to the quarter-deck, saying, there he lived and there he would die. All the officers, sadly enough, concluded that there was not the least show of any hopes of preservation, but that they were all dead men, and that upon the return of the tide

the ship would questionless be dashed in pieces. Some lay crying in one corner, others lamenting in another; some, who vaunted most in time of safety, were now most dejected. The tears and sighs and wailings in all parts of the ship would have melted a stony heart into pity; every swelling wave seemed great in expectation of its booty; the raging waves foamed as if their prey were too long detained from them; every billow threatened present death, who every moment stared in their faces for almost two hours together.

In this condition Whitelocke encouraged his two Exhorts his sons. sons to undergo the pleasure of God with all submission. He was sorry for them, being young men, who might have lived many years to do God and their country service, that they now should be snatched away so untimely; but he told them, that if father and sons must now die together, he doubted not but they should go together to that happiness which admits no change; that he did not so much lament his own condition, being an old man, in the course of nature much nearer the grave than they: but he besought God to bless them and yet to appear for their deliverance, if it were His will, or else to give him and them, and all the company, hearts willing to submit to His good pleasure.

Walking on the decks to see his orders executed Discourse with the boatswain. for throwing the ordnance overboard, the boatswain met him and spake to him in his language:—

Boatswain. My Lord, what do you mean to do?

Whitelocke. Wherein dost thou ask my meaning?

Bo. You have commanded the ordnance to be cast overboard.

Wh. It is for our preservation.

Bo. If it be done, we are all destroyed.

Wh. What reason have you to be of this opinion? Must we not lighten the ship? and can we do it better than to begin with the ordnance?

Bo. It may do well to lighten the ship, but not by throwing overboard the ordnance; for you can but drop them close to the ship's side, and where the water is shallow they will lie up against the side of the ship and fret it, and with the working of the sea make her to spring leaks presently.

Wh. I think thou speakest good reason, and I will try a little longer before it be done.

Bo. My Lord, do not doubt but God will show Himself, and bring you off by His own hand from this danger.

Wh. Hast thou any ground to judge so, or dost thou see any probability of it?

Bo. I confess there is no probability for it; but God hath put it into my heart to tell your Excellence that He will appear our Deliverer when all other hopes and helps fail us, and He will save us by His own power; and let us trust in Him.

Upon this discourse with the honest boatswain, who walked up and down as quite unconcerned, Whitelocke forbade the throwing of the ordnance overboard; and as he was sitting on the deck, Mr. Ingelo, one of his chaplains, came to him, and said that he was glad to see him in so good a temper.

Whitelocke. I bless God, who keeps up my spirit.

Ingelo. My Lord, such composedness, and not being daunted in this distress, is a testimony of God's presence with you.

Wh. I have cause to thank God, whose presence

hath been with me in all my dangers, and most in this greatest, which I hope and pray that He would fit us all to submit unto.

Ing. I hope He will; and I am glad to see your sons and others to have so much courage left in so high a danger.

Wh. God hath not suffered me, nor them, nor yourself, to be dejected in this great trial; and it gives me comfort at this time to observe it, nor doth it leave me without some hopes that God hath yet a mercy in store for us.

Ing. There is little hopes of continuance in this life, it is good to prepare ourselves for a better life; and therefore, if you please that the company may be called together into your cabin, it will be good to join in prayer, and recommending our souls to Him that gave them; I believe they are not to remain long in these bodies of clay.

Wh. I hope every one doth this apart, and it is very fit likewise to join together in doing it; therefore I pray send and call the people into my cabin to prayer.

Whilst Mr. Ingelo was gone to call the people together, a mariner came from the head of the ship, running hastily towards Whitelocke, and crying out to him, which caused Whitelocke to suspect that the ship had sprung a leak or was sinking. The mariner called out:—

Mariner. My Lord! my Lord! my Lord!

Whitelocke. What's the matter, mariner?

Mar. She wags! she wags!

Wh. Which way doth she wag?

Mar. To leeward.

The ship
moves,

Wh. I pray God that be true ; and it is the best news that ever I heard in my life,

Mar. My Lord, upon my life the ship did wag ; I saw her move.

Wh. Mr. Ingelo, I pray stay awhile before you call the people ; it may be God will give us occasion to change the style of our prayers. Fellow-seaman, show me where thou sawest her move.

Mar. My Lord, here, at the head of the frigate, I saw her move, and she moves now,—now she moves ! you may see it.

Wh. My old eyes cannot discern it.

Mar. I see it plain, and so do others.

and rights.

Whilst they were thus speaking and looking, within less than half a quarter of an hour, the ship herself came off from the sand, and miraculously floated on the water. The ship being thus by the wonderful immediate hand of God, again floating on the sea, the mariners would have been hoisting of their sails, but Whitelocke forbade it, and said he would sail no more that night. But as soon as the ship had floated a good way from the bank of sand, he caused them to let fall their anchors, that they might stay till morning, to see where they were, and spend the rest of the night in giving thanks to God for his most eminent, most miraculous deliverance.

Being driven by the wind about a mile from the sand, there they cast anchor, and fell into discourse of the providences and goodness of God to them in this unhopd-for preservation. One observed, that if Whitelocke had not positively overruled the seamen, and made them, contrary to their own opinions, to take down their sails, but that the ship had run with all her

sails spread, and with that force had struck into the sand, it had been impossible for her ever to have come off again, but they must all have perished. Another observed, that the ship did strike so upon the bank of sand, that the wind was on that side of her where the bank was highest, and so the strength of the wind lay to drive the ship from the bank towards the deep water.

Another supposed, that the ship did strike on the shelving part of the bank of sand, and the wind blowing from the higher part of the bank, the weight of the ship thus pressed by the wind, and working towards the lower part of the shelving of the bank, the sand crumbled away from the ship, and thereby and with the wind she was set on-float again. Another observed, that if the ship had struck higher on the bank or deeper, when her sails had been spread, with the force of her way, they could not in the least probability have been saved.

Another observed, that through the goodness of God the wind rose higher, and came more to that side of the ship where the bank of sand was highest, after the ship was struck, which was a great means of her coming off; and that, as soon as she was floated, the wind was laid and came about again to another quarter. Another observed, that it being at that time ebbing water was a great means of their preservation; because the ship being so far struck into the sand, and so great a ship, a flowing water could not have raised her; but upon the coming in of the tide she would questionless have been broke in pieces.

The mariners said, that if God had not loved the landmen more than the seamen they should never have

come off from this danger. Every one made his observations. Whitelocke concluded them to this purpose :

Whitelocke
orders a
thanksgiv-
ing to
God.

“ Gentlemen,

“ I desire that we may all join together in applying these observations and mercies to the praise of God, and to the good of our own souls. Let me exhort you never to forget this deliverance and this signal mercy. While the love of God is warm upon our hearts, let us resolve to retain a thankful memory of it to our lives’ end, and, for the time to come, to employ those lives, which God hath now given to us and renewed to us, to the honour and praise of Him, who hath thus most wonderfully and most mercifully revived us, and as it were new created us. Let us become new creatures ; forsake your former lusts in your ignorance, and follow that God fully, who hath so eminently appeared for us, to save us out of our distress ; and as God hath given us new lives, so let us live in newness of life and holiness of conversation.”

Whitelocke caused his people to come into his cabin, where Mr. Ingelo prayed with them, and returned praises to the Lord for this deliverance : an occasion sufficient to elevate his spirit, and, meeting with his affections and abilities, tended the more to the setting forth His glory, whose name they had so much cause more than others to advance and honour.

Many of the seamen came in to prayers, and Whitelocke talked with divers of them upon the mercy they had received, who seemed to be much moved with the goodness of God to them ; and Whitelocke sought to make them and all the company sensible of God’s gracious dealings, and to bring it home to the hearts of them. He also held it a duty to leave to his own family this large relation, and remembrance of the Lord’s signal mercy to him and his ; whereby they might be

induced the more to serve the God of their fathers, to trust in Him who never fails those that seek Him, and to love that God entirely who hath manifested so much love to them, and that in their greatest extremities ; and hereby to endeavour that a grateful acknowledgment of the goodness and unspeakable love of God might be transmitted to his children's children ; that as God never forgets to be gracious, so his servants may never forget to be thankful, but to express the thankfulness of their hearts by the actions of their lives.

Whitelocke spent this night in discourses upon this happy subject, and went not to bed at all, but expected the return of day ; and, the more to express cheerfulness to the seamen, he promised that as soon as light did appear, if they would up to the shrouds and top, he that could first descry land should have his reward, and a bottle of good sack advantage.

June 29, 1654.

As soon as day appeared, the mariners claimed many rewards and bottles of sack, sundry of them pretending to have first discovered land ; and Whitelocke endeavoured to give them all content in this day of rejoicing, God having been pleased to turn their sorrow into joy, by preserving them in their great danger, and presently after by showing them their longed-for native country ; making them, when they were in their highest expectation of joy to arrive in their beloved country, then to disappoint their hopes by casting them into the extremest danger—thus making them sensible of the uncertainty of this world's condition, and checking perhaps their too much earthly confidence, to let them

They make
the coast of
Norfolk.

see His power to control it, and to change their immoderate expectation of joy into a bitter doubt of present death. Yet again, when He had made them sensible thereof, to make his equal power appear for their deliverance when vain was the help of man, and to bring them to depend more on him, then was He pleased to rescue them by his own hand out of the jaws of death, and to restore them with a great addition to their former hopes of rejoicing, by showing them their native coast,—the first thing made known to them after their deliverance from perishing.

The day being clear, they found themselves upon the coast of Norfolk, and, as they guessed, about eight leagues from Yarmouth, where they supposed their guns might be heard the last night. The wind being good, Whitelocke ordered to weigh anchor, and they sailed along the coast, sometimes within half a league of it, until they passed Orfordness and came to Oseley Bay, where they again anchored, the weather being so thick with a great fog and much rain that they could not discern the marks and buoys to avoid the sands, and to conduct them to the mouth of the river. A short time after, the weather began to clear again, which invited them to weigh anchor and put the ship under sail; but they made little way, that they might not hinder their sounding, which Whitelocke directed, the better to avoid the danger of the sands, whereof this coast is full.

Near the road of Harwich the 'Elizabeth' appeared under sail on-head of the 'Président,' who overtaking her, Captain Minnes came on board to Whitelocke, who told him the condition they had been in the last night, and expostulated with him to this purpose.

Whitelocke. Being in this distress, we fired divers guns, hoping that you, Captain Minnes, could not but hear us and come in to our relief, knowing this to be the order of the sea in such cases.

Minnes. My Lord, I had not the least imagination of your being in distress ; but I confess I heard your cannon, and believed them to be fired by reason of the fog, which is the custom of the sea in such weather, to advertise one another where they are.

Wh. Upon such an occasion as the fog, seamen use to give notice to one another by two or three guns, but I caused many more to be fired.

Minnes. I heard but four or five in all, and I answered your guns by firing some of mine.

Wh. We heard not one of your guns.

Minnes. That might be by reason we were to windward of you three leagues.

Wh. Why then did you not answer the lights which I caused to be set up ?

Minnes. My Lord, those in my ship can witness that I set up lights again, and caused squibs and fireworks to be cast up into the air, that you might thereby discern whereabouts we were.

Wh. It was strange that we could neither see yours nor you our lights.

Minnes. The greatness of the fog might occasion it.

Wh. The lights would appear through the fog as well as in the night.

Minnes. My Lord, I did all this.

Wh. It was contrary to my orders for you to keep so far off from me, and to be on-stern of me three leagues ; but this hath been your practice since we first came out to sea together ; and if you had been under

the command of some others, as you were under mine, they would have expected more obedience than you have given to my orders, or have taken another course with you, which I can do likewise.

Minnes. My Lord, I endeavoured to get the wind of you, that I might thereby be able to keep in your company, which otherwise I could not have done, you being so much fleeter than the 'Elizabeth;' but in the evenings I constantly came up to your Excellence.

Wh. Why did you not so the last night?

Minnes. The fog rose about five o'clock, and was so thick that we could not see two ships' length before us. In that fog I lost you, and, fearing there might be danger in the night to fall upon the coast, I went off to sea, supposing you had done so likewise, as, under favour, your captain ought to have done; and for my obedience to your Excellency's commands, it hath been and shall be as full and as willing as to any person living.

Wh. When you found by my guns that you were so far from me to the windward, you might fear that I was fallen into that danger which you had avoided by keeping yourself under the wind more at large at sea.

Minnes. If I had in the least imagined your Excellence to have been in danger, we had been worse than Turks if we had not endeavoured to come in to your succour; and though it was impossible, as we lay, for our ship to come up to your Excellence, yet I should have adventured with my boats to have sought you out. But that you were in any danger was never in our thoughts; and three hours after your guns fired, sounding, I found by the lead the red sand, which

made me think both your Excellence and we might be in the more danger, and I lay the further off from them, but knew not where your Excellence was, nor how to come to you.

After much more discourse upon this subject, Captain Parkes pressing it against Minnes, who answered well for himself, and showed that he was the better seaman in this action and in most others, and in regard of the cause of rejoicing which God had given them, and that they now were near the end of their voyage, Whitelocke held it not so good to continue the expostulation as to part friends with Captain Minnes and with all his fellow-seamen, and so they proceeded together lovingly and friendly in their voyage.

The wind not blowing at all, but being a high calm, they could advance no further than the tide would carry them, the which failed them when they came to a place called Shoe, about four leagues from the mouth of Thames. Having, through the goodness of God, passed by and avoided many banks of sands and dangerous places, the wind failing them and the tide quite spent, they were forced about seven o'clock in the evening to come to an anchor, Captain Minnes hard by the 'President,' where, to make some pastime and diversion, he caused many squibs and fireworks to be cast up into the air from the 'Elizabeth,' in which Minnes was very ingenious, and gave recreation thereby to Whitelocke and to his company.

June 30, 1654.

Friday, the last of this month, was the fifth and last day of Whitelocke's voyage by sea from the mouth of ^{Reach the} Nore and ^{Gravesend.}

the Elbe to the mouth of the Thames. About twelve o'clock the last night the wind began to blow very strong in the south-west, and by daybreak they had weighed anchor; and though the wind was extreme high and a great tempest, yet such was their desire of getting into the harbour, that, taking the benefit of the tide and by often tacking about, they yet advanced three leagues in their course; and when the tide failed, they were forced to cast anchor at the buoy in the Nore, the same place where Whitelocke first anchored when he came from England. The pilots and mariners had much ado to manage their sails in this tempestuous weather; and it was a great favour of God that they were not out at sea in these storms, but returned in safety to the place where the kindness of God had before appeared to them.

In the afternoon the wind began to fall, and they weighed anchor, putting themselves under sail and pursuing their course, till for want of day and of tide they were fain to cast anchor a little above Gravesend, and it being very late, Whitelocke thought it would be too troublesome to go on shore; but to keep his people together, and that they might all be the readier to take the morning tide, he lay this night also on ship-board, but sent Earle and some others that night to shore, to learn the news, and to provide boats against the morning for transportation of Whitelocke and his company the next day to London.

Thus, after a long, most difficult, and most dangerous journey, negotiation, and voyage from south to north in winter, and from north to south in summer, after the wonderful preservations and deliverances which the Lord had been pleased to vouchsafe to

them, He was also pleased, in His free and constant goodness to His servants, to bring them all in safety and with comfort again to their native country and dearest relations, and blessed with the success of their employment, and with the wonderful appearances of God for them.

May it be the blessed portion of them all, never to forget the loving-kindness of the Lord, but by these cords of love to be drawn nearer to Him, and to run after Him all the days of their lives ! To the end that those of his family may see what cause they have to trust in God and to praise his name for his goodness, Whitelocke hath thought fit, hereby in writing, and as a monument of God's mercy, to transmit the memory of these passages to his posterity.

JULY.

—◆—

July 1, 1654.

Whitelocke
lands, and
proceeds to
his house at
Chelsea.

ABOUT three o'clock this morning good store of boats came from Gravesend to Whitelocke's ships, to transport him, his company, and goods to London. By the help of the mariners, without much delay the baggage was put on board the boats; and Whitelocke's people, after a perilous and tedious voyage, were not backward to leave their ships and to set forward to London. Earle was sent before to Greenwich, to acquaint Whitelocke's wife with his coming, lest sudden joy and apprehensions might surprise her to her prejudice.

Whitelocke having distributed his rewards to the officers and seamen of both the frigates, much to the same proportion as when he went forth, and giving them all his hearty thanks, he went into a boat of six oars, his two sons and some of the gentlemen with him, the rest in other boats. When they were gone about a musket-shot from the ships, both the frigates and the fort fired their cannon for a parting salutation. The weather was cold, wet, and windy, as if it had been still winter, but it was cheerfully endured, being the conclusion of a bad voyage. Near Greenwich Earle met them, and informed Whitelocke that his family was at Chelsea, whither he had sent advertisement of his coming.

Many of the company being much tired, sick, and wanting sleep, by their desire and for their refreshment he staid a little time at the 'Bear' on the bridge-foot, and from thence to Whitehall, where not finding the Protector, who was gone to Hampton Court, yet many of his friends meeting him there, he was embraced by them with much show of joy, and heartily bid welcome home, blessing God for his safe return and good success in his business.

From Whitehall Whitelocke went to his own house at Chelsea, where he found his wife and family in good health, but in no small passion, surprised with the great and sudden joy, which oftentimes brings no less disturbance to the tempers of people, especially of the more tender and affectionate sex, than other surprises do ; sudden fear, grief, and joy, are often equal in their operation upon constitutions and affections. Nor was Whitelocke's wife alone in this surprise ; another with her, at the return of her husband, could not forbear, in all that company, her extraordinary expressions of joy at the happy meeting of her own most near relation.

From the time of Whitelocke's departure from hence, to his entry into Upsal, Whitelocke spent forty-seven days ; five months he staid there, and in his return from Upsal to this place cost him forty-three days ; and in all these eight months' time of his absence from his dear relations and country the Lord was pleased so to own him and his, and so graciously to preserve and prosper them, that himself and a hundred persons in his company, after so long a journey, so great a change of climate and accommodations, such hardships endured, such dangers surmounted through His goodness, the business effected beyond the expectation of

those who employed him, Whitelocke and all his company were through mercy returned to their country and relations, in as good condition and health as when they went forth, not one of them left behind dead or sick or impaired in their health, but some improved and bettered therein. Only Whitelocke, being ancient, will have cause to remember the decay of his strength and health by the hardships and difficulties of this service; but more cause hath he to remember the wonderful goodness of God to him and his company abroad and to his wife and family at home, in His blessing and preservation of them, and in the comfort and safety of their meeting after so long and perilous a separation, for which he is obliged to praise the name of God for ever.

After ceremonies past at his coming to his own house, Whitelocke sent Captain Beake to Hampton Court, to acquaint the Protector with his return, to present his duty, and to receive his commands when Whitelocke should wait upon his Highness to kiss his hand, and to give him an account of his negotiation. Beake returned this evening from Hampton Court to Whitelocke with this answer:—that the Protector expressed much joy at the news of the safe arrival of Whitelocke and of his company in England; that he looked upon it as a mercy, and blessed God for it; and that he much desired to see Whitelocke, and hoped, on Monday next, at Whitehall, to have his company, who should be very welcome to him.

A little while after this message returned, there came two of the Protector's gentlemen, sent by him to Chelsea in his name, to visit Whitelocke and to bid him welcome home, to inquire of his health, and to testify

the contentment the Protector received by Whitelocke's happy return home, and that he hoped on Monday next to see him. Whitelocke desired the gentlemen to present his humble thanks to the Protector for this great favour to inquire after so mean a servant, who hoped to have the honour to wait upon his Highness at the time appointed by him.

July 2, 1654.

The Lord's Day.—Whitelocke began to enjoy some more privacy and retirement than he had been lately accustomed unto, and was at the public church with his wife and family, and courteously saluted and bid welcome home by many. In the evening the Protector sent another compliment to Whitelocke by Mr. Strickland, one of his Council, who came to Whitelocke's house, and told him that he was sent by the Protector to salute him, and to inquire of his health after his long and dangerous voyage, and to assure him of the great joy his Highness received by Whitelocke's safe arrival in England, and the desire he had to see him, and personally to entertain him. Whitelocke desired his most humble thanks might be returned to his Highness for this great favour, giving him the opportunity of seeing so honourable a person as Strickland was, and for taking such care of so poor a servant as Whitelocke, and to let his Highness know that he should obey his Highness's commands in waiting on him the next day as he appointed.

The Protector compliments Whitelocke on his return.

July 3, 1654.

Whitelocke came to Whitehall about nine o'clock

His audience of the Protector.

this morning, where he visited Mr. Secretary Thurloe, who brought him to the Protector, and he received Whitelocke with great demonstration of affection, and carried him into his cabinet, where they were together about an hour, and had this among other discourses :—

Protector. How have you enjoyed your health in your long journey, both by sea and land? and how could you endure those hardships you were put unto in that barren and cold country?

Whitelocke. Indeed, Sir, I have endured many hardships for an old crazy carcass as mine is, but God was pleased to show much mercy to me in my support under them, and vouchsafed me competent health and strength to endure them.

Prot. I have heard of your quarters and lodging in straw, and of your diet in your journey; we were not so hardly nor so often put to it in our service in the army.

Wh. Both my company and myself did cheerfully endure all our hardships and wants, being in the service of our God and of our country.

Prot. That was also our support in our hardships in the army, and it is the best support, indeed it is, and you found it so in the very great preservations you have had from dangers.

Wh. Your Highness hath had great experience of the goodness of God to you, and the same hand hath appeared wonderfully in the preservation of my company and myself from many imminent and great dangers both by sea and land.

Prot. The greatest of all other, I hear, was in your return home upon our coast.

Wh. That indeed, Sir, was very miraculous.

Prot. I am glad to see you safe and well after it.

Wh. I have cause to bless God with all thankfulness for it as long as I live.

Prot. I pray, my Lord, tell me the particulars of that great deliverance.

Thereupon Whitelocke gave a particular account of the passages of that wonderful preservation; then the Protector said:—

Prot. Really these passages are full of wonder and mercy; and I have cause to join with you in acknowledgment of the goodness of the Lord herein.

Wh. Your Highness testifies a true sense thereof, and your favour to your servant.

Prot. I hope I shall never forget the one or the other,—indeed I hope I shall not; but, I pray, tell me, is the Queen a lady of such rare parts as is reported of her?

Wh. Truly, Sir, she is a lady excellently qualified, of rare abilities of mind, perfect in many languages, and most sorts of learning, especially history, and, beyond compare with any person whom I have known, understanding the affairs and interest of all the States and Princes of Christendom.

Prot. That is very much; but what are her principles in matters of religion?

Wh. They are not such as I could wish they were;* they are too much inclined to the manner of that country, and to some persuasions from men not well inclined to those matters, who have had too much power with her.

* [Yet Whitelocke seems to have entertained no suspicions of the Queen's design to join the Church of Rome. Piementelle and Montecuculi were however aware of her intention on this point, and were afterwards present at her abjuration.]

Prot. That is a great deal of pity ; indeed I have heard of some passages of her, not well relishing with those that fear God ; and this is too general an evil among those people, who are not so well principled in matters of religion as were to be wished.

Wh. That is too true ; but many sober men and good Christians among them do hope, that in time there may be a reformation of those things ; and I took the boldness to put the Queen and the present King in mind of the duty incumbent upon them in that business ; and this I did with becoming freedom, and it was well taken.

Prot. I think you did very well to inform them of that great duty which now lies upon the King ; and did he give ear to it ?

Wh. Yes truly, Sir, and told me that he did acknowledge it to be his duty, which he resolved to pursue as opportunity could be had for it ; but he said, it must be done by degrees with a boisterous people, so long accustomed to the contrary. And the like answer I had from the Archbishop of Upsal, and from the Chancellor, when I spoke to them upon the same subject, which I did plainly.

Prot. I am glad you did so. Is the Archbishop a man of good abilities ?

Wh. He is a very reverend person, learned, and seems very pious.

Prot. The Chancellor is the great wise man.

Wh. He is the wisest man that ever I conversed with abroad, and his abilities are fully answerable to the report of him.

Prot. What character do you give of the present King ?

Wh. I had the honour divers times to be with his Majesty, who did that extraordinary honour to me as to visit me at my house ; he is a person of great worth, honour, and abilities, and not inferior to any in courage and military conduct.

Prot. That was an exceeding high favour, to come to you in person.

Wh. He never did the like to any public minister. But this, and all other honour done to me, was but to testify their respects to your Highness, the which indeed was very great, both there, and where I passed in Germany.

Prot. I am obliged to them for their very great civility.

Wh. Both the Queen, and the King, and his brother, and the Archbishop, and the Chancellor, and most of the grandees, gave testimony of very great respect to your Highness, and that not only by their words, but by their actions likewise.

Prot. I shall be ready to acknowledge their respects upon any occasion.

Wh. The like respects were testified to your Highness in Germany, especially by the town of Hamburg ; where I endeavoured, in your Highness's name, to confirm the privileges of the English merchants, who, with your Resident there, showed much kindness to me and my company.

Prot. I shall heartily thank them for it. Is the Court of Sweden gallant, and full of resort to it ?

Wh. They are extreme gallant for their clothes ; and for company, most of the nobility and the civil and military officers make their constant residence where the Court is, and many repair thither on all occasions.

Prot. Is their administration of justice speedy? and have they many law-suits?

Wh. They have justice in a speedier way than with us, but more arbitrary, and fewer causes, in regard that the boors dare not contend with their lords; and they have but few contracts, because they have but little trade; and there is small use of conveyances or questions of titles, because the law distributes every man's estate after his death among his children, which they cannot alter, and therefore have the fewer contentions.

Prot. That is like our gavelkind.

Wh. It is the same thing; and in many particulars of our laws, in cases of private right, and of the public Government, especially in their Parliaments, there is a strange resemblance between their law and ours.

Prot. Perhaps ours might some of them be brought from thence.

Wh. Doubtless they were, when the Goths and Saxons, and those northern people, planted themselves here.

Prot. You met with a barren country, and very cold.

Wh. The remoter parts of it from the Court are extreme barren; but at Stockholm and Upsal, and most of the great towns, they have store of provisions; but fat beef and mutton in the winter-time is not so plentiful with them as in the countries more southerly; and their hot weather in summer as much exceeds ours, as their cold doth in winter.

Prot. That is somewhat troublesome to endure; but how could you pass over their very long winter nights?

Wh. I kept my people together and in action and recreation, by having music in my house, and encouraging that and the exercise of dancing, which held

them by the ears and eyes, and gave them diversion without any offence. And I caused the gentlemen to have disputations in Latin, and declamations upon words which I gave them.

Prot. Those were very good diversions, and made your house a little academy.

Wh. I thought these recreations better than gaming for money, or going forth to places of debauchery.

Prot. It was much better. And I am glad you had so good an issue of your treaty.

Wh. I bless God for it, and shall be ready to give your Highness a particular account of it, when you shall appoint a time for it.

Prot. I think that Thursday next, in the morning, will be a good time for you to come to the Council, and to make your report of the transactions of your negotiation; and you and I must have many discourses upon these arguments.

Wh. I shall attend your Highness and the Council.

July 4, 1654.

This day was spent in visits, very much company resorting to Whitelocke's house to bid him welcome into England, so that, by the multitude of company, he had not any opportunity of recollecting himself and his thoughts, touching the matters which he was to communicate to the Council the next day; but it could not be avoided, and he must take such time as would be afforded him.

White-
locke's
friends
celebrate
his return.

July 5, 1654.

By Whitelocke's appointment, all his company who

A solemn
thanks-
giving for
his safe
return.

were with him in Sweden, came this day to his house at Chelsea, where divers others of his good friends met them, to the intent they might all join together in returning humble and hearty thanks to God for his great mercy and goodness to them, in their preservation and wonderful deliverances in their voyage, in blessing them with health and with success in their business, and bringing all of them in safety and comfort to their native country and most dear relations.

Being for this end met together in a large room prepared for them, they began the duty; and first, Mr. Peters acquainted them with the occasion of the meeting, recommending all to the direction and assistance of the Lord. He spoke to them upon the Psalm pertinent to the occasion, and to the mention of the voyage, hardships, dangers, and difficulties, wherein God had delivered them; and what sense these things ought to work upon their hearts, and what thankfulness they ought to return to God for his mercies.

After a psalm sung, Mr. Ingelo, one of Whitelocke's chaplains, prayed with them, and then amplified the favours and deliverances which God had wrought for them, the great difficulties and dangers wherein He had preserved them, and their unworthiness of any mercy; he exhorted them to all gratitude to the Author of their mercies: in all which he expressed himself with much piety, ingenuity, and with great affection. Mr. George Downing, who had been a chaplain to a regiment in the army, expounded a place of Scripture very suitable to the occasion, and very ingeniously and pertinently. After him, Mr. Stapleton

prayed very well, and spake pertinently and feelingly to the rest of the company, his fellow-travellers. Then they sang another psalm; and after that, Mr. Cokaine spake very well and piously, and gave good exhortations on the same subject.

When all these gentlemen had ended their discourses proper for the occasion, Whitelocke himself spake to the company to this effect:—

White-
locke's
address
to his
company.

“ Gentlemen,

“ You have heard from our worthy Christian friends many words of precious truth, with which I hope all our souls are refreshed, and do pray that our practice may be conformed. The duty of this day, and of every person, is *gratiarum actio*: I wish we may all act thankfulness to our God, whereunto we are all obliged who have received so great benefits from Him. In a more peculiar manner than others I hold myself obliged to render thanks—

“ 1. To our God, who hath preserved us all, and brought us in safety and comfort to our dear country and relations.

“ 2. To our Christian friends, from whom we have received such powerful instructions this day, and prayers all the days of our absence.

“ 3. To you, Gentlemen, who have shown so much affection and respect in bearing me company in a journey so full of hardships and dangers.

“ I am of the opinion of the Roman soldier who told Cæsar, ‘I have in my own person fought for thee, and therefore that the Emperor ought in his own person to plead for the soldier’ (which he did); and have in your own persons endured all the hardships, difficulties, and dangers with me: and were I as able as Cæsar, I hold myself as much obliged in my own person to serve you, and, to the utmost of my capacity, shall do all good offices for any of you, who have, with so much affection, respect, and hazard, adventured your persons with me.

"I am obliged, and do return my hearty thanks, to our worthy friends who have so excellently performed the work of the day, and shall pray that it may be powerful upon every one of our hearts, to build us up in the knowledge of this duty; and I should be glad to promise, in the name of all my company, that we shall give a ready and constant observance of those pious instructions we have received from you.

"Some here have been actors with us in our story; have gone down to the sea in ships and done business in great waters; have seen the works of God and His wonders in the deep; His commanding and raising the stormy wind, lifting up the waves thereof, which mount up to the heavens and go down again to the deep, whose souls have melted because of trouble, and have been at their wits' end: then have cried unto the Lord in their distress, and He hath brought them out of trouble. We have seen Him make the storm a calm, and the waves thereof still: then were we glad, and He brought us to our desired harbour. Oh that we would praise the Lord for His goodness, for His wonderful works! Let us exalt Him in the congregation of the people, and praise Him in the assembly of the elders.

"These my companions, who have been actors, and others, I hope will give me leave to make them auditors of some special providences of the Lord, wherein we may all reap benefit from the relation. The Apostle saith, 2 Pet. i., 'Wherefore I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of these things, though you know them, and be established in the present truth.' To all I may say, with the wise man (Prov. viii.), 'Hear! for I will speak of excellent things,' free mercies, great deliverances, wonderful preservations: excellent things to those who were sharers of them in action, and for the contemplation of those who are hearers of them; therefore I may shortly recite some of the most eminent of them.

"In the first day of our voyage with a fair wind, at

night it changed, and we were stopp'd till comfortable letters came to me, which otherwise could not have come, and were no sooner answered but the wind came fair again. When we toiled in the open sea with cross winds and tempests, driven near to our own coast back again, God sent us then fair weather and a good gale for our voyage. How was He pleas'd to bring us so very near great danger on the Riff, and then bring us safe off from it and hold on our course again !

“ When we were in no small danger in the tempestuous seas on the back of the Skaw, when the anchors dragg'd a league in one night with the storm, and every moment we expected to be devour'd by the raging waves, there the Lord was also our deliverer ; as He also was upon the rocky coast of Norway and in the difficult passage to the harbour of Gothenburg. Throughout our voyage the providence of God watch'd over us and protect'd us. Thus did He in our land journey, where the extreme hardships we were put unto are sufficiently known to all of us, and will to our life's end be felt by some of us.

“ My particular preservation was wonderful from an intended assassination by one who thrust himself into my company to have the better opportunity to execute it ; but, overcome with kindness, his heart relented, and he forsook his purpose and my company.

“ If the snow had fallen (as in other years) in the time of our travel, we could not have pass'd our journey ; but He who rules the heavens and the earth restrain'd it till we came within half a day of our journey's end, and in safety He conduct'd us to Upsal. The same Providence kept us there, and when some of our company were sick and hurt, restored health again.

“ It was marvellous and unexpected, that in a foreign country, at such a distance from friends and acquaintance, God should raise us up friends out of strangers, namely the Queen, foreign ministers, and great officers, in whose sight we found wonderful favour, to our preservation under God

and a great means of effecting what we came about, maugre the labours and designs of our enemies against it, and their plots and attempts for our destruction, had not our Rock of Defence secured us.

“ I should detain you very long, though I hope it would not be thought too long, to recite all our remarkable mercies ; and it is an excellent thing that they are so numerous. We are now coming homewards. How did our God preserve us over the Baltic Sea from innumerable dangers of the rocks, sands, coasts, islands, fierce lightnings, storms, and those high-swelling waters ! Such was our preservation in the Elbe, when our countrymen leaped into the water to bring us off from danger, and when the tempests hurried us up and down, by Heligoland, then towards Holland, then to the northward, then to the southward, in the open breaking rough seas, when we had lost our course and knew not where we were.

“ Above all other was that most eminent deliverance near our own coast, when our ship was stuck upon the sand twelve leagues from any shore, when no help nor human means were left to save us, when pale death faced us so long together, when no hopes remained to escape his fury or the rages of the waves, which we expected every instant to swallow us ; even then, to show where our dependence ought to be, our God would make it His own work to deliver us. He it was that raised the wind, and brought it from the higher part of the bank, to shake our fastened ship, and crumble the loose sands ; and no sooner had we taken a resolution of praying and resigning our souls to God, but He gave us our lives again, moving our ship by His powerful arm, making it to float again, none knowing how or by what means, but by the free act of His mercy, and not a return of ours, but of the prayers of some here present, and divers others our Christian friends, who at that very time were met together to seek the Lord for us and for our safe return.

“ Methinks the hearts of us who were partakers of these

mercies should rejoice in the repetition of them, and those that hear them cannot but say they hear excellent things; and certainly never had any men more cause than we have of returning humble and hearty thanks to God who hath thus saved us.

“And having received these mercies, and been delivered out of these distresses, I may say to you, as Jacob said to his household (Gen. xxxv.), ‘Let us arise and go to Bethel;’ let us serve God and praise His name who answered us in the day of our distress, and was with us in the way which we went. Let us also keep Jacob’s vow: ‘The Lord hath been with us and kept us in our way, and brought us again to our fathers’ house in peace; let the Lord be our God.’ Let not any of our former vanities or lusts, or love of the world, be any more our God, but let the Lord be our God; let our thanksgiving appear in owning the Lord for our God, and in walking answerable to our mercies; let our prayers be according to the counsel of the Apostle (Eph. v.), ‘See then that ye walk circumspectly, giving thanks always for all things.’ How much more are we bound to do it from our special mercies!

“Gentlemen, give me leave to conclude with my particular thanks to you who accompanied me in my journey, and have manifested very much respect, care, diligence, courage, and discretion. You have, by your demeanour, done honour to our profession of religion, to our country, to yourselves, to your Ambassador, who will be ready to testify the same on all occasions, and to do you all good offices; chiefly in bearing you company to return praises to our God, whose mercies endure for ever.”

After these exercises performed, wherein Whitelocke was the more large in manifesting the abounding of his sense of the goodness of God towards him, and was willing also to recollect his thoughts for another occasion, the company retired themselves; and Whitelocke complimented his particular friends, giv-

ing them many thanks who had shown kindness to his wife and family, and had taken care of his affairs in his absence.

A banquet
held in
State, as in
Sweden.

He bid them all welcome, and desired them to accompany him the next day to his audience before the Protector and Council. Then he led them into a great room, where the table was spread, and all things in the same state and manner as he used to have them in Sweden, that his friends might see the fashion of his being served when he was in that condition, and as his farewell to those pomps and vanities.

The trumpets sounding, meat was brought in, and the mistress of the house made it appear that England had as good and as much plenty of provisions as Sweden, Denmark, or Germany. His friends and company sat down to meat as they used to do in Sweden; the attendants, pages, lacqueys, and others, in their liveries, did their service as they were accustomed abroad. Their discourse was full of cheerfulness and recounting of God's goodness; and both the time of the meat and the afternoon was spent in rejoicing together for the present mercy, and for the whole series of God's goodness to them; and in the evening they parted, every one to his own quarters.

July 6, 1654.

Whitelocke
gives an ac-
count of his
Embassy to
the Council.

Whitelocke went in the morning early to Whitehall. At Secretary Thurloe's lodging he found most of his company, the gentlemen in their habits, the others in their liveries; and in a short time they were all come together, to attend their Ambassador to his last audience, who was put to the patience of staying an hour

and a half at Master Secretary's lodging before he was called in to his Highness; then, being sent for, he went, attended in the same manner as he used to go to his audiences in Sweden. Being come to the outward room, he was presently brought into the Council-chamber, where the Protector sat in his great chair at the upper end of the table, covered, and his Council sat bare on each side of the table. After ceremonies performed by Whitelocke, and great respect shown him by the Protector and his Council, Whitelocke spake to this effect :—

“ May it please your Highness,

“ I attend, by your command, to give an account of the discharge of that great trust and weighty burden which, through the assistance of God, I have undergone in my employment to Sweden, and with the success of that negotiation, wherein I shall not waste much of your time, for which you have other great affairs; but, in as few words as I can, I shall with clearness and truth acquaint your Highness and your Honourable Council with those matters which I apprehend most fit and worthy of your knowledge.

“ After the receipt of my commission and instructions from the Parliament then sitting, to go Ambassador to Sweden, I neglected no time, how unseasonable soever, to transport myself to that country. Upon the 5th of November I embarked at the Hope, and after ten days' voyage, through many storms, enemies, and dangers, it pleased God on the 15th of November to bring me in safety, with all my company, into the port of Gothenburg. The next day I despatched two of my servants to the Court with letters to Prince Adolphus, the Grand Master, and to the Ricks-Chancellor of Sweden, to advertise them of my arrival, and to desire their advice whither to direct my journey to attend the Queen.

“ In this city I received many civilities and testimonies of respect to your Highness and this Commonwealth from

the magistrates, officers, and others there; and a small contest I had with a Dutchman, a Vice-Admiral of her Majesty's, about our war with his countrymen, and about some prizes brought in by me, wherein I took the liberty to justify the proceedings of this State, and ordered, upon submission, the release of a small Dutch prize taken by me.

"Having refreshed myself and company some days, I began my land journey the last day of November. The military officers accompanied me out of town; the citizens and garrison-soldiers stood to their arms, and with many volleys of great and small shot (the bullets passing somewhat too near for compliments) they gave me an honourable farewell.

"In our journey we met with extreme hardships, both in the weather and in want of necessary accommodations. The greater towns where we quartered showed much respect to your Highness and this Commonwealth; only in one town a little affront was given in words by a prætor, who acknowledged his fault, and it appeared to proceed more from drink than judgement. In all places the officers took great care, with what the country would afford, to furnish what I wanted; the ways were prepared, waggons and horses brought in, and all things requisite were done by the country, upon command of her Majesty.

"After twenty-one days in our land-journey, near four hundred miles from Gothenburg up into the country, in that climate in December, it pleased God through all our difficulties to bring us safe to Upsal the 20th of December. About half a league from the town, the Master of the Ceremonies, and after him two Senators with two coaches of the Queen's, and those of the Spanish Resident and of divers grandees, met me, and with more than ordinary ceremony conducted me to a house in the town, by the Queen's order taken up and furnished for me. Divers compliments passed from the Queen herself and many of her Court, expressing much respect to your Highness and this Commonwealth, in the person of your servant.

"By favour I obtained my first audience from the Queen the 23rd of December, the particular passages whereof (as of most other matters which I have to mention) were in my letters imparted, as they arose, to Mr. Secretary Thurloe, and by him, I presume, to your Highness and the Council. Two or three days after this I procured a private audience from her Majesty, when I showed her my commission, and took time to wait on her with my proposals.

"The Spanish Resident, Don Piementelle, now in this Court, expressed high respects for your Highness and this Commonwealth, and particular affection to me; and I, knowing his great favour with the Queen and his own worth, contracted an intimacy of friendship with him, as I had also with M. Woolfeldt, the King of Denmark's brother-in-law, with Field-Marshal Wrangel, Grave Tott, the Queen's favourite, and with divers senators and great men, but especially with the old Chancellor.

"I found very useful for your Highness's service there Mr. Lagerfeldt, Secretary Canterstein, Mr. Ravius, and others; and I had good assistance from my countrymen, General-Major Fleetwood, a true friend to England, my Lord Douglas, Colonel Hamilton, and others.

"And having now given your Highness some account of persons, I come to the matter of my negotiation, which I laid the best I could.

"By advice I made my applications to the Queen herself, and, as much as I could, put the business upon her personal determination, which she liked, and it proved advantageous. I presented to her at once all my articles, except three reserved. The articles proposed a league offensive and defensive; whereupon she objected the unsettledness of our Commonwealth, the present peace of her kingdoms, and our being involved in a war. To which I answered, that her kingdoms could not long continue in peace, and would have as much need of our assistance as we of theirs; and our war and successes against Holland were arguments that our friendship merited acceptance;

that I hoped our Commonwealth was settled, and that leagues were between nations, not governments.

"This debate was very large with her Majesty, who seemed satisfied with my answers, and appointed her Chancellor to treat with me; who much more insisted upon the unsettledness of our Commonwealth and upon the same objections which the Queen had made, and received from me the same answers; which proved the more satisfactory after the news of your Highness's accession to the Government, which made this treaty proceed more freely.

"I had often and long disputes with the Chancellor upon the article touching English rebels being harboured in Sweden; most of all, touching contraband goods, and about reparation of the losses of the Swedes by prizes taken from them in our Dutch war by us, besides many other objections, whereof I have given a former account by letters. The Chancellor being sick, his son Grave Eric was commissioned to treat with me in his father's stead, and was much more averse to my business, and more earnest upon the objections, than the old man, whom, being recovered, I found more moderate, yet we could not agree one way or other. And when I pressed for a conclusion, both the Queen and her Chancellor did ingenuously acknowledge, that they desired first to see whether the peace would be made between us and Holland, before they came to a determination upon my treaty; wherein I could not but apprehend reason: and when the news came that the peace between your Highness and the Dutch was concluded, I urged a conclusion of my treaty; and what the Chancellor and I differed in, the Queen was pleased to reconcile, and so we came to the full agreement contained in this instrument, signed and sealed by the Queen's Commissioners, which I humbly present to your Highness and this Honourable Board; and which I hope, through the goodness of God, may be of advantage to this Commonwealth, and to the Protestant interest."

Here Whitlocke, making a little pause, delivered

into the Protector's hand the instrument of his treaty, fairly written in Latin, in a book of vellum, with the hands and seals to it of the Ricks-Chancellor and his son Grave Eric, which being done, Whitelocke went on in his speech.

"I cannot but acknowledge the great goodness of God to me in this employment, in my preservation from attempts against my person, raising me up such eminent friends, giving me so much favour in the eyes of strangers, inclining the Queen's heart to an extraordinary affection and favour towards me, and giving this good success to my business, notwithstanding the designs and labours of many enemies to the contrary. The treaty with me being thus finished, the business came on of the Queen's resignation of the Crown, wherein she was pleased to express a great confidence in a stranger, by imparting it to me many weeks before, whereof I took the boldness to certify your Highness.

"The Prince who was to succeed the Queen was sent for to Upsal, and their Ricksdag, or Parliament, was to meet there in the beginning of May. Your Highness will not expect many arguments of your servant's longing desires of returning, when he had advice that your frigates sent for him were in the Elbe; yet, judging it might conduce to your service to salute the Prince, I staid till his entry (which was in great state) into Upsal, where I saluted him from your Highness, and acquainted him with my negotiation, which he well approved; and, to testify his great respect to your Highness and this Commonwealth, he came in person to visit me at my house, and used me with so much extraordinary favour and ceremony, that never the like had been done before to any ambassador. We had several conferences at large, much discourse of your Highness and of this Commonwealth, with the particulars whereof I shall acquaint you at your better leisure.

"The time of the Queen's resignation being near, I thought it not convenient for me to be then upon the place,

but removed to Stockholm ; where I was when the resignation and new coronation were solemnized at Upsal. The magistrates of Stockholm expressed good respect to your Highness and this Commonwealth. From hence I embarked the 1st of June, in a good ship of the Queen's, to cross the Baltic Sea. She sent one of her Vice-Admirals, Clerke, to attend me ; and, after a dangerous voyage and bad weather, the Lord gave us a safe arrival at Lübeck, on the 7th of June. The magistrates, by their Syndic, here bid me welcome and expressed some respect, and made some requests by me to your Highness.

“ From Lübeck I travelled over Holstein and Lüneburg, and came the 10th of June to Hamburg ; where I was also very civilly saluted by some of the magistrates and Syndic ; and most of the Lords came afterwards to me, and testified extraordinary respect and service to your Highness and this Commonwealth. My countrymen, the company of Merchant Adventurers there, showed very much kindness to me, and I endeavoured to do them service to the Lords of the town, making use of your Highness's name therein.

“ I departed from Hamburg the 17th of June ; Mr. Bradshaw, your Highness's worthy Resident there, and others of my countrymen, showing much kindness to me, both whilst I was there and at my departure from this city. I embarked in your Highness's frigate, near Glückstadt, but was detained for some days in the Elbe by cross winds, and in some danger, but in more when we came into the open sea. But above all, the Lord was pleased to appear for us on the 28th day of June, when our ship stuck upon the sands, above twelve leagues off from the coast of Yarmouth : and when there was no means or help of men for our escape, but we expected every moment to be drowned by the waves, then it pleased God to show his power and free mercy by his own hand to deliver us, and, after two hours' expectation of death, to reprieve us, to set our ship on float again, and to bring us all in health and safety to your Highness's presence, and to our dear country and relations.

"The Queen and the new King were pleased to honour me with jewels off their pictures, and a gift of copper, I having bestowed my horses (of more worth) on them and whom they appointed, and which I refused to sell, as a thing uncomely for my condition in your Highness's service.

"Thus, Sir, I have given you a clear and full account of my transactions; and, as I may justify my own diligence and faithfulness therein, so I cannot but condemn my many weaknesses and failings; of which I can only say that they were not wilful, and make a humble demand to your Highness and this honourable Council, that I may obtain your pardon."

When Whitelocke had ended his speech and a little pause made, the Protector, pulling off his hat and presently putting it on again, desired Whitelocke to withdraw, which he did, and within a quarter of an hour was called in again. The Protector, using the same ceremony as before, spake to him to this effect:—

"My Lord,

Cromwell's
answer to
his speech.

"The Council and myself have heard the report of your journey and negotiation with much contentment and satisfaction, and both we and you have cause to bless God for your return home with safety, honour, and good success, in the great trust committed to you; wherein this testimony is due to you, that you have discharged your trust with faithfulness, diligence, and prudence, as appears by the account you have given us, and the issue of the business. Truly, when persons to whom God hath given so good abilities, as He hath done to you, shall put them forth as you have done, for His glory and for the good of His people, they may expect a blessing from Him, as you have received in an ample measure."

"An acknowledgment is also due to them from their country, who have served their country faithfully and suc-

cessfully, as you have done. I can assure your Lordship it is in my heart, really it is, and, I think, in the hearts of all here, that your services in this employment may turn to an account of advantage to you and yours; and it is just and honourable that it should be so.

“The Lord hath shown extraordinary mercy to you and to your company, in the great deliverances which he hath vouchsafed to you; and especially in that eminent one which you have related to us, when you were come near your own country, and the enjoyment of the comforts of your safe return. It was indeed a great testimony of God’s goodness to you all,—a very signal mercy, and such a one as ought to raise up your hearts and our hearts in thankfulness to God, who hath bestowed this mercy on you; and it is a mercy also to us as well as to you, though yours more personally, who were thus saved and delivered by the special hand of Providence.

“The goodness of God to you was also seen in the support of you, under those hardships and dangers which you have undergone in this service; let it be your comfort that your service was for God, and for his people, and for your country. And now that you have, through his goodness, passed them over, and he hath given you a safe return unto your country, the remembrance of those things will be pleasant to you, and an obligation for an honourable recompense of your services performed under all those hardships and dangers.

“For the treaty which you have presented to us, signed and sealed by the Queen’s Commissioners, I presume it is according to what you formerly gave advice to us from Sweden. We shall take time to peruse it, and the Council have appointed a committee to look into it, together with your instructions, and such other papers and things as you have further to offer to them: and I may say it, that this treaty hath the appearance of much good, not only to England, but to the Protestant interest throughout Christendom; and I hope it will be found so, and your service

thereby have its due esteem and regard, being so much for public good, and so discreetly and successfully managed by you.

“My Lord, I shall detain you no longer, but to tell you that you are heartily welcome home; that we are very sensible of your good service, and shall be ready on all occasions to make a real acknowledgment thereof to you.”

When the Protector had done speaking, Whitelocke withdrew into the outward room, whither Mr. Scobell, Clerk of the Council, came to him with a message from the Protector, that Whitelocke would cause those of his retinue, then present, to go in to the Protector and Council, which they did; and the Protector spake to them with great courtesy and favour, bidding them welcome home, blessing God for their safe return to their friends and native country, and for the great deliverances which He had wrought for them. He commended their care of Whitelocke and their good deportment, by which they had testified much courage and civility, and had done honour to religion and to their country; he gave them thanks for it, and assurance of his affection to them when any occasion should be offered for their good or preferment. They withdrew, full of hopes, every one of them, to be made great men; but few of them attained any favour, though Whitelocke solicited for divers of them who were very worthy of it.

This audience being ended, and with it Whitelocke's commission, he willingly parted with his company and greatness, and contentedly retired himself with his wife and children in his private family. After his return from the Council, Whitelocke dismissed his company and went to those gentlemen whom he had de-

sired to act as a committee for him before his going out of England ; these he desired to examine the state of his accounts with his officers, to satisfy what remained due to any, and to make up his account, to be given in tomorrow to the Council's committee.

July 7, 1654.

Whitelocke renders a minute account of the negotiation to a Committee of Council.

According to the appointment of the Protector and Council, signified to him by a letter from Mr. Jessop, Clerk of the Council, Whitelocke repaired to Whitehall, to the Lord Viscount Lisle and Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, the Committee of the Council, appointed to peruse and examine his proceedings : to them he produced his commission, orders, credentials, and instructions ; and all was sifted into, by virtue whereof he acted throughout by his whole Embassy.

He deduced his negotiation from the beginning of his Treaty to the conclusion of it, with all the reasons and circumstances of his transactions. They took cognizance of all, narrowly searched into and examined everything, comparing all particular passages and actions with the rules and instructions given him ; and upon the whole matter they acknowledged that Whitelocke had given them full satisfaction in every point, and all his proceedings were by them, and upon their report to the Protector and Council afterwards, fully approved and commended by them.

July 8, 1654.

The Committee of Council audit his accounts.

Whitelocke again solicited the Committee of the Council that his accounts might be examined and stated, and order given for the payment of what re-

mained due to him, which he had expended out of his own purse in their service, and was reasonable for him to expect a reimbursement of it. The Committee were pleased to take great pains in pursuing and examining his papers, books, and accounts, not omitting (with strictness enough) any particular of his actions and expenses; and after all their strait inquisition and narrow sitting, they again acknowledged, which upon their report was confirmed by the Council, that his management of this affair had been faithful and prudent, his disbursements had been just and necessary, his account was clear and honest, and that he ought to be satisfied with what remained upon his accounts due to him. The remainder due to him was above £500, and, notwithstanding all their promises, Whitelocke could never get it of them.

The sum of all was, that for a most difficult and dangerous work, faithfully and successfully performed by Whitelocke, he had little thanks and no recompense from those who did employ him; but, not long after, was rewarded by them with an injury: they put him out of his office of Commissioner of the Great Seal, because he would not betray the rights of the people, and, contrary to his own knowledge and the knowledge of those who imposed it, execute an ordinance of the Protector and his Council as if it had been a law. But in a succeeding Parliament, upon the motion of his noble friend the Lord Broghill, Whitelocke had his arrears of his disbursements paid him, and some recompense of his faithful service allowed unto him.

His hopes were yet higher, and his expectation of acceptance was from a superior to all earthly powers;

to whom only the praise is due, of all our actions and endeavours, and who will certainly reward all his servants with a recompense which will last for ever.

July 9, 1654.

A familiar
letter.

I received this letter from my brother Willoughby:—

“For my Lord Whitelocke, at Chelsea, humbly these.

“My Lord,

“I being this day commanded by the two within-named persons in your letter to consummate their nuptials, and in that to bear the part of a father, am so confident of my power, as (were it not my Lord Whitelocke’s request, whose interest with them exceeds a mock father) he might be assured of not failing of his commands; but that done which this morning I am going about, I am by them desired to jog on to Stanstead, so that I fear I shall by that means be disappointed of attending you upon Wednesday; and that, I assure you, will go to Nancy’s heart, she being yesterday resolved to have visited you this morning at Chelsea, had she not apprehended your early being in town; but wherever we are, our thankfulness to God for your safe return you shall not fail of, nor of the keeper tomorrow night. So I rest,

“My Lord,

“Your affectionate brother to serve you,

“July.

WILL. WILLOUGHBY.”

I have inserted this and other letters, that you may observe the change of styles and compliments in the change of fortunes and conditions.

July 10, 1654.

I had been several times to visit my Lord Lambert since my coming home, he being a person in great favour with the army, and not without some close emu-

lation from Cromwell; but his occasions were so great, that I could not meet with him. I therefore desired the Earl of Clare, who was very intimate with Lambert, to contrive a conveniency for my meeting with my Lord Lambert, whereupon he sent me this letter, directed

"For the Lord Whitelocke, at Chelsea.

"My Lord,

"Hearing your Lordship had been several times to see my Lord Lambert and missed, and I desiring that there should be no mistakes between you, I sent Mr. Bankes to signify so much to his cousin Lambert, who, being come this morning to town, says he will be very glad to see your Lordship about two this afternoon, and Mr. Bankes will wait on your Lordship to him, if you please to be in the Park, in the walk between the elms on this side the water. So I rest

"Your Lordship's humble servant,

"CLARE."

I met Mr. Bankes at the time appointed, who brought me to my Lord Lambert, and he received me with great civility and respect; we had much discourse together about Sweden, and Germany, and Denmark, and the business of my treaty; and we parted with all kindness, and he desired to have my company often.

July 11, 1654.

I received this letter from my Lady Pratt:—

*"For my ever-honoured friend the Lord Whitelocke, these
humbly.*

"My Lord,

"Hearing that it is absolutely in your power to dispose of the time of the Assizes, and an unexpected accident being

fallen out, which will make them extremely prejudicial to us if they begin so soon, my humble suit to your Lordship is to defer them till, etc. This favour, as it will be an extraordinary great one, so it will lay a suitable obligation upon,

“My Lord, your most humble servant,

“MARGARET PRATT.”

I could not gratify this lady's desire, being not yet sworn a Commissioner of the Great Seal ; but I returned her a civil answer and excuse ; and I have inserted the more letters, that you may see the style and compliments of divers persons, and note their change upon the change of times.

July 12, 1654.

A more
formal
letter.

I received this letter from the Lord Chief Baron Wylde :—

“*For the Right Honourable the Lord Ambassador White-
locke, these, at Chelsea.*

“Right Honourable and my very good Lord,

“It is not my happiness to be in place or condition to wait upon your Lordship, as I would, to present my humble service to you, and the gratulations due for your safe and happy return, for your long and hazardous, but I hope successful journey, wishing the honour and happiness which belongs to your most known deservings may ever attend you, with a reward from above for those inestimable favours by which you have for ever obliged me to you and all that is mine; who, after the long course I have run, through all the degrees of my laborious calling, my services to my country and the Commonwealth, my great losses and sufferings for the public, and the discharge of my duty in all my several trusts and employments, have now the hoped-for comfort of all removed from me, and a dark shadow cast upon me, with all the sad consequences thereof to me and

mine, and many others that have dependence on me. But God gives and takes, and is able to restore; His help I trust in, and shall still desire the continuance of your Lordship's undoubted favours, whose health and happiness I shall ever pray for, who am,

“My Lord,

“Your Lordship's most faithful servant,

“*Hampstead, 12th July, 1654.*

JOHN WYLDE.”

This gentleman was very laborious in the service of the Parliament, and stiff for them, and had sustained great losses and hatred by adhering in all matters to them. He was learned in his profession, but of more reading than depth of judgement; and I never heard of any injustice or incivility of him. The Parliament made him Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, which place he executed with diligence and justice; yet upon the alteration made by Cromwell, when he assumed the Protectorship, in the nomination of officers he left out Mr. Sergeant Wyld from being Chief Baron or any other employment,—a usual reward, in such times, for the best services. He entreated me to move the Protector on his behalf, which I did, but to no effect, the Protector having a dislike of the Sergeant, but the ground thereof I could not learn.

Most places were full of trouble about their elections of Parliament men. I had recommended my son James to some of my friends in Oxfordshire, for one of the knights for that county, myself being chosen for the city of Oxford and for the borough of Bedford, and one of the knights for Bucks. I had at this time such an interest in Oxfordshire, that upon my account my son James was chosen for one of their knights for the Parliament, as appears by this letter to me:—

White-
locke's
influence in
Oxford-
shire.

"For the Right Honourable his dear Father the Lord Commissioner Whitelocke, at Chelsea, these. Haste, haste.

"Dear Sir,

"I held it my duty, upon the instant of the conclusion of the elections at this place, to acquaint you that I am chosen one of the knights for the county in the next Parliament. I am told that the number of voices might justly have given the first place to me; but I freely resigned it to Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, not suffering it to be brought to trial by the poll, which many of the country desired. The persons elected are Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Mr. Robert Jenkinson, Colonel Nathaniel Fynes, Mr. Lenthall, Master of the Rolls, and myself.

"Many of your friends appeared really for me, amongst which I can experimentally say none acted more effectually than my cousin Captain Croke, his father, and brother. The city of Oxford was prepared very seasonably for me, wherein my cousin Richard Croke's affections did particularly appear; and I conceive that if you shall be pleased to waive the election for the city of Oxford, no truer friend could be commended by you for their choice than my cousin Richard Croke, in regard of his interest there, if you think it fit. I shall say no more at present in this haste, but expect your commands in all things, who am

"Your most obedient son,

"J. WHITELOCKE.

"Oxford, July 12, 1654."

The gentlemen of Oxfordshire did generally manifest great civility and respect to me in this business of my son; so did the citizens of Oxford; and the scholars were not behindhand in the expression of their favour and good opinion of me and my son, and they stood stoutly and generally for my son to be one of the knights for the county. Thus was my interest at this time sufficient to make another to be knight of

the shire; yet when my condition fell, my interest fell with it, and I was looked upon as a stranger among them. Such is the course and vicissitude of worldly things; therefore put no trust in them.

July 13, 1654.

This Order of the Council was brought unto me:—

“Thursday, the 13th of July, 1654.

“AT THE COUNCIL AT WHITEHALL: Ordered, by his Highness the Lord Protector and the Council, that the Lord Commissioner Whitelocke do attend the Council to-morrow morning, to take his oath as one of the Lords Commissioners for the Great Seal, and that the rest of the Lords Commissioners do then also attend with the Seal.

Whitelocke
summoned
to resume
the Com-
missioner-
ship of the
Great Seal.

“HENRY SCOBELL,

“Clerk of the Council.”

Some of my friends thought it very long before this order was made, and looked upon it as some neglect to me, whereof I was likewise sensible, but had no remedy; only it seemed hard that after so perilous an undertaking, performed, through the blessing of God, faithfully and successfully on my part, my requital should be a neglect of me and my services. Yet it pleased God to give me much patience and temperance to bear this slighting and ingratitude, and I knew the condition of him from whom it came, who, when his turn was served, usually forgot the instruments.

July 14, 1654.

According to the Council's Order, the Lords Commissioners Lisle and Widdrington attended with the Seal at Whitehall, and I was there also. We were all

Receives
the Seal.

called into the Council, where the Protector himself was sitting at the upper end of the table with his hat on, and the Council all uncovered. He made a short and grave speech, how much I had deserved from the Commonwealth by the great and faithful services I had performed for them, particularly in the treaty with Sweden. That in my absence, the custody of the Great Seal being to be disposed of, the Council and himself having good experience of my fidelity and abilities for that great trust, and as a testimony of their favour to me, they thought fit to nominate me for one of the Commissioners of the Seal. And I being now, through the mercy of God, safely returned again into this Commonwealth, they had appointed this time for me to take the oath of a Commissioner of the Great Seal, as the rest of the Commissioners had done before.

I then desired to see the oath, which was shown to me, and finding it to be the same that I had taken before, I took it now again; and after that, the Protector took the Great Seal in his hand and delivered it to me and the other Commissioners, and so we did withdraw with it. Sir Thomas Widdrington seemed a little distasted that I was the first Commissioner, named before him, which was done when I was out of England, and, I suppose, because I was then Ambassador Extraordinary in their actual service. We went away together to consult about the business of the Seal, and I sought to win Sir Thomas Widdrington by my civility to him.

July 15, 1654.

Entry of
certain
goods.

I employed my brother Wilson to the Commissioners of the Customs, to get the copper which I had

brought from Sweden, and some deal boards, to be discharged of paying custom, they being my particular goods, concerning which my brother Wilson gave me this account by his letter; and also, touching the arrears of my salary as Commissioner of the Great Seal during my absence out of England, and for one term since my coming home.

*"For the Right Honourable the Lord Commissioner White-
locke, these; Chelsea.*

"May it please your Lordship,

"This morning I waited on the Commissioners of the Customs with your Lordship's letter, who expressed much readiness to answer your expectation about the Customs of the copper and deal boards, had it been in their power, their commission not exceeding a bill of store for forty shillings. But I am to wait on the Commissioners at Whitehall for regulating the Customs, on Tuesday morning (who sit not till then); they have power to grant the custom thereof, and carrying the letter from your Lordship, I question not but will take effect, and so they have acquainted me; which letter I send enclosed, that you may please in the superscription to add to the word Commissioners, 'for regulating, etc.,' which then will be fit to present to the said committee. In the meantime I have procured an order to go to work upon the small vessel, which cannot well be done until you are pleased to send word what shall be done with the deals, they being uppermost. If the barge be not ready, if you think fit, I will hire a lighter and load her therewith, which may convey them to Queenhithe or Chelsea, otherwise it will be less charge for a barge to take them in from the ship; your Lordship's pleasure shall be observed in all.

"I acquainted the Commissioners of the Customs of an order your Lordship had for £1000, which they acquainted me should be paid as soon as brought to them; since which

I have received it from Mr. Earle, which I also send enclosed, that you may please to put your name underneath it, that so receipt may be made over it after their form, and on Monday it will be paid.

"My humble service to my Lady, I beseech you, present. I shall await your Lordship's answer, and ever remain

"Your Lordship's most obliged servant,

"SAMUEL WILSON.

"*London, this 15th July, 1654.*"

I ordered a Henley barge to take in the deal boards from the ship, and to carry them to Fawley Court, which was done; and there I made use of them for new flooring my hall and for wainscoting of it. They were extraordinary good boards, and those of the floor were about two inches thick. There they are, and there may they long continue, for the use of me and my children; and may they put us in mind to bless God for his goodness to me in that voyage, and in my safe return to that place, and of all his preservations and mercies to me and my company!

I returned order to my brother Wilson, to be careful of receiving my money from the Commissioners of the Customs.

July 16, 1654.

I had some conference with Major G. Disborough, one of the Commissioners for the Ordnance, about his buying for the State the copper which the Queen of Sweden gave me, and I brought over from thence, being two hundred and fifty ship-pound. I desired that some merchants might look upon it, who had experience in that commodity; and what they should agree to be a reasonable price for it, I should be content to take it; and so we concluded.

July 17, 1654.

My brother Wilson gave me this account touching ^{Sale of} my moneys and copper :—
copper.

*“ For the Right Honourable the Lord Commissioner White-
locke, these ; at Chelsea.*

“ London, the 17th July, 1654.

“ May it please your Lordship,

“ I sent this morning to receive your moneys at the Custom-house, and they say there is no more due to your Lordship than £750 for three terms, as is expressed in the receipt enclosed, which they have made. I would not receive it until I knew your pleasure, which, if this sum doth agree with what is your due, you may please to put your name to the enclosed receipt from them, and it will be paid in the morning. The order also I send back, that you may please to take off your name from it and send it again by the bearer.

“ In the morning we shall work upon the ship, and I shall wait on the Committee at Whitehall, for the custom and excise of the copper to be free, which will come to £240. I hope I shall prevail, and shall always remain

“ Your Lordship’s humble servant,

“ SAMUEL WILSON.”

There was a mistake by the Commissioners of the Customs about my money, which I rectified, and had the £1000 paid to my brother Wilson for my use. Touching the copper, I at length contracted with Major G. Disborough, who bought it for the Protector, and gave me £2500 for it, which was justly paid unto me ; and the copper was employed to make brass ordnance for the ships, and was excellent good, and no ill bargain.

I received a letter from Mr. Henry Elsing, late

**Mr. Henry
Elsing.** Clerk of the Parliament, and the best clerk in my judgement that ever I knew, to take the sense of the House and put it in apt terms. He was an excellent scholar,—had the Italian, French, and Latin languages; a very honest and ingenious man, and fitter for much better employment than to be Clerk of the Parliament. He was my faithful and kind friend, and I owe very much of affection and gratitude to the memory of this worthy gentleman. He was in great and deserved favour of the House of Commons, and gave over his place because he would not meddle in the business about the trial of the King. He often invited Mr. Selden and me together to his house to dinner, where we had great cheer, and greater learning in excellent discourse, whereof himself bore a chief part. I was the more frequent with him, being godfather to one of his sons, and Mr. Selden the other godfather, which brought us two the oftener together to his house, to see our godson; and even in such meetings as these I gained very much of knowledge from the most learned and rational discourses of Mr. Selden.

THE END.

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CLASSIFIED INDEX.

Agriculture and Rural Affairs.

	Pages.
Baydon On valuing Rents, &c.	3
Cecil's Letters on Agriculture	5
Cecil's Stand Farm	5
London's Agriculture	13
" Self-Instruction	13
" Lady's Country Companion	14
Low's Elements of Agriculture	14
" Domesticated Animals	14

Arts, Manufactures, and Architecture.

Bourne's Catechism of the Steam Engine	4
" on the Screw Propeller	4
Brande's Dictionary of Science, &c.	4
Chevroler on Colour	6
Creevy's Civil Engineering	6
Easlake On Oil Painting	7
Gwilt's Encyclop. of Architecture	8
Jameson's Sacred & Legend. Art 10 & 11	10
" Commonplace Book	10
König's Pictorial Life of Luther	8
London's Rural Architecture	13
Moseley's Engineering	16
Richardson's Art of Horsemanship	18
Steam Engine, by the Artisan Club	18
Take on Strength of Materials	22
Ure's Dictionary of Arts, &c.	24

Biography.

Bunsen's Hippolytus	5
Chesteron's Autobiography	6
Cockayne's Martial Tereus	23
Freeman's Life of Kirby	11
Haydon's Autobiography, by Taylor	8
Holcroft's Memoirs	23
Holland's (Lord) Memoirs	9
Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia	12
Mauder's Biographical Treasury	15
" Memoir of the Duke of Wellington	23
" Lord Peterborough	17
Merivale's Memoirs of Cicero	15
Russell's Memoirs of Moore	15
" Life of Lord Wm. Russell	19
Southery's Life of Wesley	21
" Life and Correspondence	21
Stephen's Ecclesiastical Biography	21
Taylor's Loyola	22
" Wesley	22
Townsend's Eminent Judges	22
Waterson's Autobiography & Essays	24

Books of General Utility.

Acton's Cookery	3
Black's Treatise on Brewing	4
Cabinet Gazetteer	5
" Lawyer	5
Curt's Invalid's Own Book	6
Hints on Etiquette	6
Hudson's Executor's Guide	10
" On Making Wills	10
Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia	12
London's Self-Instruction	13
" Lady's Companion	14
" Amateur Gardener	14
Mauder's Treasury of Knowledge	15
" Biographical Treasury	15
" Scientific Treasury	15
" Treasury of History	15
" Natural History	15
Pocket and the Stud	18
Pycroft's English Reading	18
Reece's Medical Guide	18
Rich's Comp. to Latin Dictionary	18
Riddle's Latin Dictionaries	18
Richardson's Art of Horsemanship	18
Rogert's English Thesaurus	19

	Pages.
Bowden's Debater	19
Short Whist	20
Thomson's Interest Tables	22
Traveller's Library	22
Webster's Domestic Economy	24
Wells's Popular Tables	24
Wilmot's Abridgment of Blackstone's Commentaries	24

Botany and Gardening.

Conversations on Botany	6
Hooker's British Flora	9
" Guide to Kew Gardens	9
Lindley's Introduction to Botany	11
" Theory of Horticulture	11
London's Hortus Britannicus	13
" Amateur Gardener	13
" Self-Instruction	13
" Trees and Shrubs	13
" Gardening	13
" Plants	13
Rivers's Rose Amateur's Guide	15

Chronology.

Blair's Chronological Tables	4
Bunsen's Ancient Egypt	5
Haydon's Beaman's Index	9
Nicolas's Chronology of History	15

Commerce and Mercantile Affairs.

Bewley's Decennial Interest Tables	4
Francis On Life Assurance	6
Lorimer's Letters to a Young Master Mariner	13
M'Culloch's Commerce & Navigation	14
Steel's Shipmaster's Assistant	21
Thomson's Interest Tables	22

Criticism, History, and Memoirs.

Austin's Germany	3
Balfour's Sketches of Literature	3
Belfast's English Poets	3
Blair's Chron. and Hist. Tables	4
Bunsen's Ancient Egypt	5
" Hippolytus	5
Burton's History of Scotland	6
Chalchabana's Modern Speculative Philosophy	6
Conybeare and Howson's St. Paul	7
Easlake's History of Oil Painting	7
Erskine's History of India	7
Félicie's French Protestants	8
Francis's Annals of Life Assurance	8
Glieg's Leipzig Campaign	23
Gurney's Historical Sketches	23
Hamilton's Essays from the Edinburgh Review	8
Haydon's Autobiography, by Taylor	8
Holland's (Lord) Foreign Reminiscences	9
" Whig Party	9
Jeffrey's (Lord) Contributions	11
Kemble's Anglo-Saxons	11
Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia	12
Macaulay's Crit. and Hist. Essays	12
" History of England	12
" Speeches	14
Macintosh's Miscellaneous Works	14
" History of England	14
M'Culloch's Geographical Dictionary	14
Miner's Church History	15
Mauder's Treasury of History	15
Memor of the Duke of Wellington	23
Merivale's History of Rome	15
" Roman Republic	15

	Pages.
Miner's Church History	15
Moore's (Thomas) Memoirs, &c.	16
Mure's Greek Literature	16
Ranke's Ferdinand & Maximilian	18
Rich's Comp. to Latin Dictionary	18
Riddle's Latin Dictionaries	18
Rogers's Essays from the Edinburgh Review	19
Rogert's English Thesaurus	19
Russell's (Lady Rachel) Letters	19
" Life of Lord William Russell	19
St. John's Indian Archipelago	19
Schmitt's History of Greece	19
Sinclair's Popish Legends	20
Smith's Sacred Annals	20
Smith's The Doctor &c.	21
Stephen's Ecclesiastical Biography	21
" Lectures on the History of France	21
Sydney Smith's Works	21
" Lectures on Moral Philosophy	21
Taylor's Loyola	22
" Wesley	22
Thirlwall's History of Greece	22
Townsend's State Trials	22
Turkey and Christendom	23
Turner's Anglo-Saxons	23
" Middle Ages	23
" Sacred Hist. of the World	23
Zumpt's Latin Grammar	24

Geography and Atlases.

Butler's Geography and Atlases	5
Cabinet Gazetteer	5
Hall's Large Library Atlas	8
Hughes's Australian Colonies	23
Johnston's General Gazetteer	11
M'Culloch's Geographical Dictionary	14
Murray's Encyclop. of Geography	17
Sharp's British Gazetteer	19

Juvenile Books.

Any Herbert	20
" Calling, &c. of a Governess	20
" Corner's Children's Sunday Book	6
" Earl's Daughter (The)	20
" Experience of Life	20
" Gertrude	20
" Horwitz's Boy's Country Book	10
" (Mary) Children's Year	10
" Laneton Parsonage	20
" Mrs. Marret's Conversations	15
" Margaret Percival	20
" Pycroft's English Reading	18

Medicine and Surgery.

Bull's Hints to Mothers	4
" Management of Children	4
Copland's Dictionary of Medicine	6
Curt's Invalid's Own Book	6
Holland's Mental Physiology	9
Latham On Diseases of the Heart	11
Little on Treatment of Deformities	12
Moore On Health, Disease, & Remedy	16
Perrins On Food and Diet	17
Reece's Medical Guide	18

Miscellaneous and General Literature.

Austin's Sketches of German Life	3
" Calling, &c. of a Governess	5
Cervantes's Lectures and Addresses	28
Chalchabana's Modern Speculative Philosophy	6

CLASSIFIED INDEX.

	Page.
Defence of <i>Eclipses of Faith</i> . . .	7
Greg's Essays on Political and Social Science . . .	8
Haydn's Book of Dignities . . .	9
Hole's Essay on Mechanics' Institutions . . .	9
Holland's Mental Physiology . . .	9
Hooker's Kew Guide . . .	9
Howitt's Rural Life of England . . .	10
" Visited Remarkable Places . . .	10
Jamesson's Church History . . .	10
Jeffrey's (Lord) Contributions . . .	11
London's Ladies' Country Comp. . .	14
Macanlay's Crit. and Hist. Essays . . .	14
" Speeches . . .	14
Macintosh's Miscellaneous Works . . .	14
Memories of a Maître-d'Armes . . .	33
Maitland's Church in the Catacombs . . .	17
Pascal's Works, by Fearce . . .	17
Pyro's English Reading . . .	18
Report on Industrial Instruction . . .	10
Rich's Comp. to Latin Dictionary . . .	18
Riddle's Latin Dictionary . . .	18
Scott's Debate . . .	19
St. John's Wessels of Power . . .	19
Schoolmaster's Difficulties . . .	19
Seaward's Narrative of his Shipwreck . . .	19
Sir Roger de Coverley . . .	30
Smith's (Rev. Spence) Works . . .	21
Southey's Common-place Books . . .	21
" The Doctor &c. . .	21
Souvestre's Attila Philosopher . . .	22
" Confessions of a Working Man . . .	22
Stephen's Essays . . .	21
Stow's Training System . . .	21
Thomson's Outline of the Laws of Thought . . .	22
Townsend's State Trials . . .	22
Willch's Popular Tales . . .	24
Xump's Latin Grammar . . .	24

Natural History general.

Catlow's Popular Conchology . . .	6
Ephemeris and Young on the Salmon . . .	7
Gosse's Nat. Hist. of Jamaica . . .	23
Kemp's Natural Hist. of Creation . . .	23
Kirby and Spence's Entomology . . .	11
Lee's Elements of Natural History . . .	11
Mander's Natural History . . .	24
Tarleton's Shells of the British Islands . . .	24
Waterson's Essays on Natural Hist. . .	24
Yonatt's The Dog . . .	24
" The Horse . . .	24

1-Volume Encyclopedias and Dictionaries.

Blaine's Rural Sports . . .	4
Brande's Science, Literature, & Art . . .	6
Copland's Dictionary of Medicine . . .	6
Creely's Civil Engineering . . .	6
Guth's Architecture . . .	6
Johnston's Geographical Dictionary . . .	11
London's Agriculture . . .	12
" Rural Architecture . . .	12
" Gardening . . .	12
" Plants . . .	12
" Trees and Shrubs . . .	12
M'Culloch's Geographical Dictionary . . .	14
" Dictionary of Commerce . . .	14
Murray's Encyclop. of Geography . . .	17
Sharp's British Gazetteer . . .	19
Ure's Dictionary of Arts, &c. . .	24
Weber's Domestic Economy . . .	24

Religious & Moral Works.

Any Herbet . . .	30
Blossfeld's Greek Testament . . .	4
" Annotations on do. . .	4
Calling and Responsibilities of a Governor . . .	6
Calvert's Wife's Manual . . .	6
Combe and Howson's St. Paul . . .	6
Cornwall's Sunday Book . . .	6
Dale's Domestic Library . . .	6
Defence of <i>Eclipses of Faith</i> . . .	7
Discipline . . .	7
Earl's Daughter (The) . . .	30
Eclipses of Faith . . .	7
Englishman's Greek Concordance . . .	7
Englishman's Heb. & Child. Concord. . .	7
Experience of Life (The) . . .	30
Felice's French Protestants . . .	6
Gertrude . . .	30
Harlequin's Light of the Forge . . .	9
Hook's Lectures on Passion Week . . .	9
Horne's Introduction to Scriptures . . .	9
" Bridgments of ditto . . .	10

Jamesson's Sacred Legends . . .	10
" Monastic Legends . . .	11
" Legends of the Madonna . . .	11
Jeremy Taylor's Works . . .	11
Kippie's Hymns . . .	11
Knap's Life of Luther . . .	6
London Parsonage . . .	20
Letters to My Unknown Friends . . .	11
" on Happiness . . .	11
Littin's Church of Christ . . .	12
Maitland's Church in the Catacombs . . .	17
Margaret Fennell . . .	20
Martin's Church History . . .	16
Milner's Church of Christ . . .	16
Montgomery's Original Hymns . . .	16
Moore On the Use of the Body . . .	16
" Soul and Body . . .	16
" A Man and his Motives . . .	16
Neale's Closing Scene . . .	17
" Resting-Places of the Just . . .	17
" Riches that Bring no Good . . .	17
" Risen from the Banks . . .	17
Newman's (J. H.) Discoveries . . .	17
Robinson's Firmness & Maximilian . . .	18
Readings for Lent . . .	18
" Confirmation . . .	18
Robinson's Laxton to the Greek Testament . . .	18
Saints' our Example . . .	19
Self-Denial . . .	19
Sermon on the Mount Illuminated . . .	20
Sinclair's Journey of Life . . .	20
" Popish Legends . . .	20
Smith's (Sydney) Moral Philosophy . . .	20
" (G.) Sacred Annals . . .	21
Southey's Life of Wesley . . .	21
Stephen's Ecclesiastical Biography . . .	21
Taylor's Loyals . . .	22
" Wesley . . .	22
Thumb Bible (The) . . .	22
Turner's Sacred History . . .	22

Poetry and the Drama.

Arnold's Poems . . .	3
Aikin's (Dr.) British Poets . . .	3
Baillie's (Joanna) Poetical Works . . .	3
Bell's Lectures on the English Poets . . .	3
Bode's Ballads from Herodotus . . .	4
Calvert's Wife's Manual . . .	6
Flowers and their kindred Thoughts . . .	6
Goldsmith's Poems, Illustrated . . .	6
Kippie's Hymns . . .	11
L. E. L.'s Poetical Works . . .	11
Lindwood's Anthologia Oxoniensis . . .	12
Macanlay's Lays of Ancient Rome . . .	14
Montgomery's Poetical Works . . .	16
" Original Hymns . . .	16
Moore's Poetical Works . . .	16
" Lalla Rookh . . .	16
" Irish Melodies . . .	16
" Songs and Ballads . . .	16
Roby's Poetical Remains . . .	16
Shakespeare, by Bowdler . . .	20
" Sentiments & Similes . . .	20
Southey's Poetical Works . . .	21
" British Poets . . .	21
Swain's English Melodies . . .	22
" Letters of Laura D'Arverne . . .	22
Thomson's Seasons, Illustrated . . .	22
Thornton's Zohrah . . .	22
Watts's Lyrics of the Heart . . .	24

Political Economy and Statistics.

Bandfield's Statistical Companion . . .	4
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